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MARYLAND
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The Maryland Historical Magazine

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Historical Magazine

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CONTENTS

"A Stirring Among the Dry Bones": George Whitefield and the Great Awakening in Maryland 389
by Timothy Philip Feist

Chattel Slavery at Hampton/Northampton, Baltimore County 409
by R. Kent Lancaster

One Step Closer to Democracy: African American Voting in Late Nineteenth-Century Cambridge 428
by C. Christopher Brown

Portfolio: "Maryland in Focus" 438

The Lost Way: Community Mental Health in Maryland, 1960–75 446
by Jonathan Engel

Book Reviews 478
Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: A Carroll Saga, 1500–1782,* by Virgina Geiger
Twohig, ed., *George Washington's Diaries: An Abridgement,* by Sheldon S. Cohen
Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood,* by Toni M. Barnard
Hoxie, Hoffman, and Albert, eds., *Native Americans and the Early Republic,* by John R. Wennersten
Hart, Ward, and Miller, eds., *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family: Volume 5, The Autobiography of Charles Willson Peale,* by Michelle L. Kloss
Daniels, ed., *Over the Threshold: Intimate Violence in Early America,* by Catherine A. Cardno
Townsend, *Tales of Two Cities: Race and Economic Culture in Early Republican North and South America,* by Natalie Zacek
Ernst, *"Too Afraid to Cry": Maryland Civilians in the Antietam Campaign,* by Charles W. Mitchell
Rhea, *To the North Anna River: Grant and Lee, May 13–25, 1864,* by Aaron C. Sheehan-Dean
Orr, *Black Social Capital: The Politics of School Reform in Baltimore, 1986–1998,* by Bruce Thompson

Books in Brief 499

Notices 501

Index to Volume 95 503

That Great Dust Heap Called "History"

"Well," the caller seethed, "I thought the Maryland Historical Society had a *passing* interest in history." I assured him that we did—but not in publishing a history of his retirement community's first twenty-five years. He abruptly hung up, disgruntlement intact. Then there was the letter upbraiding us for permitting an article to refer to George Washington as the first president of the United States. Didn't we know the first president was John Hanson of Charles County, later Frederick, in 1781, under the Articles of Confederation (never mind the subtle governmental differences)? A more or less regular critic is, among other things, determined to keep the number of Maryland Union volunteers to the absolute minimum allowed by Civil War records.

A cynic once referred to what we do here, in these offices, as "that great dust heap called 'history,'" but he could not have been more wrong. History matters in varying degrees to a great many people. It mildly concerned the visitor to our booth at the Baltimore Book Festival who idly wondered, "My house is in the 1200 block of St. Paul Street. What can you tell me about it?" More purposeful was the woman who tapped one of our titles and informed us, correctly, that it did not deal at all with slavery as it should have. Perhaps most urgent was the caller who demanded: "My son has a term paper due next week. Send me everything you have on the Civil War!" Amusing as some of these queries sound, they remind us that many share a healthy impatience to know more about the past. Far more ominous was the county school library supervisor who wanted to reshape the past by changing the wording in a 1959 children's book on Maryland Indians. If we did not alter two sentences to fit more recent political sensibilities, she wrote, she would have to remove the books from her county's library shelves. We did not comply, but we are, in fact, preparing a new book on the subject.

As the Press at the Maryland Historical Society begins to pick up steam, the phones have begun ringing at a furious pace. Callers want to know where their books are—"I ordered it Tuesday, and this is Friday!"—which is music to our ears. The clothbound edition of *A Monument to Good Intentions* sold through briskly. *The Baltimore Album Quilt Tradition* shows similar energy.

Some calls are a joy. A writer for the *New York Post* contacted this office to ask what, were he still among us, H. L. Mencken would think of "Festivus Maximus," Baltimore's colorful epithet for this year's winter gridiron spectacle? Doubtless he would have hated it. What then, she wanted to know, did he mean to Baltimore? That was easy. We love him because he loved us and because he despised pretension. The *New York Times* did not call but ran a playful article on the eve of Baltimore's trouncing that city's Giants arguing that Edgar Allan Poe's heart right-

fully (and laughably) belonged to them because he wrote much of his work there. Had they asked, we would have replied that he lived, got horribly drunk, died, and is buried here. He also disliked New York, as we know from the fact that he was in New York when he finished "The Raven," probably while contemplating suicide.

R.I.C.

Cover

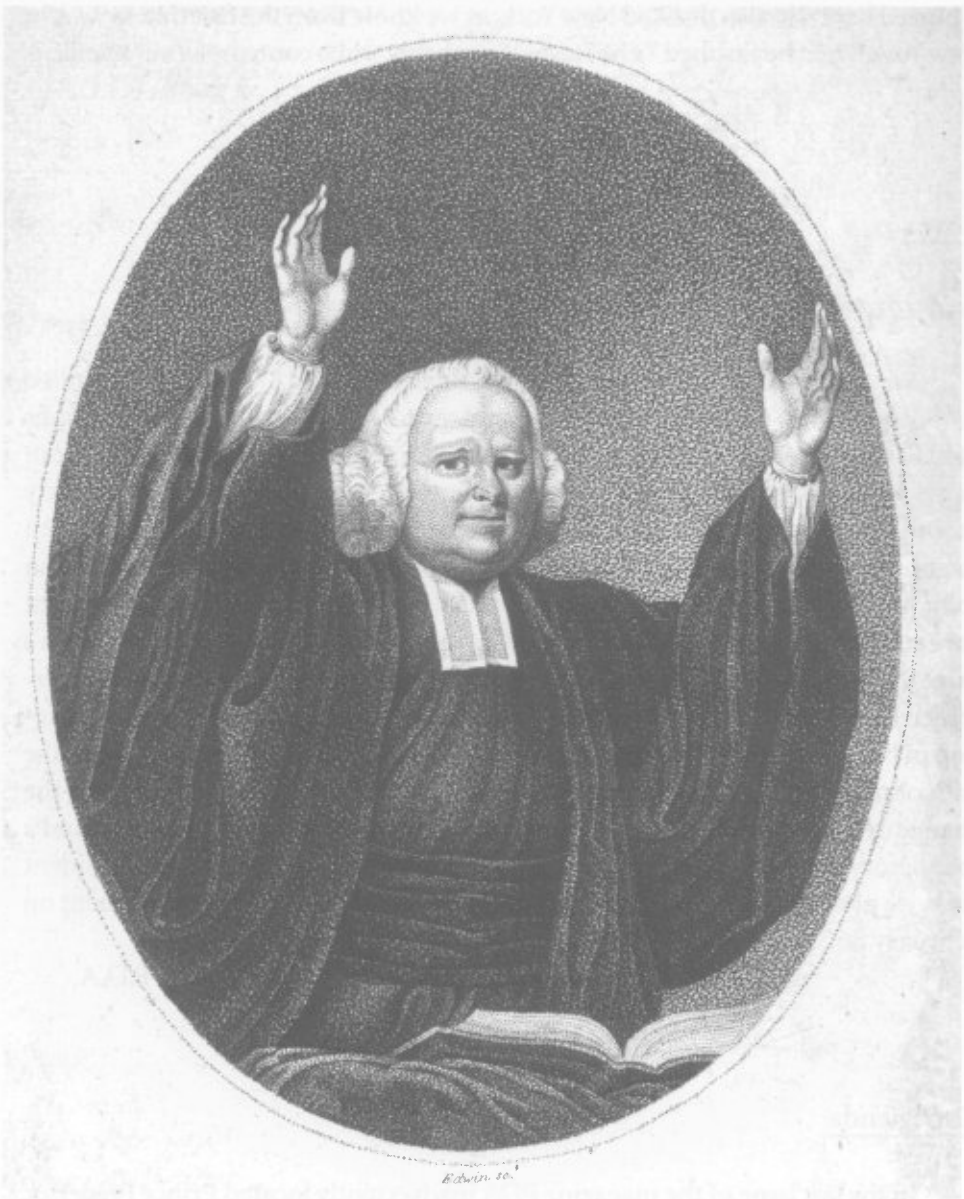
Inauguration Day, Garrett County, March 4, 1917

Western Maryland photographer Leander Beachy (1874–1927) celebrated Woodrow Wilson's inauguration to a second term by taking patriotic photographs of his niece, Myra Custer Taylor—shown in this picture draped in one American flag while carrying another through knee-deep snow on a Garrett County mountainside. The practice of inaugurating the president on March 4 began when members of the Continental Congress set the date four months after the election so that new members of Congress and officials of the new administration might have ample time to reach the capital. In what historian Ken Burns called "Jefferson's three-mile-an-hour world," speed of communication and transportation determined dates of national gatherings. Franklin Delano Roosevelt holds the distinction of being the last president sworn in on March 4 (1933) and the first to take the oath of office on January 20 (1937). A bundle of electoral reforms, including the change of date for presidential terms of office, congressional meeting dates, and a mandatory meeting of the electoral college to formally nominate the president and vice president, became law with ratification of the Twentieth Amendment on February 26, 1933. (Maryland Historical Society.)

P.D.A.

Corrigienda

In the last issue of the magazine PDA inadvertently located Prince Frederick in Western Maryland. We regret the error but put forth by way of explanation the fact that PDA had just successfully completed her doctoral examinations, an achievement which often leaves one unable to correctly identify not only cities but sometimes one's own front door. The condition is said to be temporary.



George Whitefield (1714–70), charismatic revivalist leader in the North American colonies captivated audiences from Maine to Georgia, but his awakening message largely failed in Maryland's Eastern Shore and southern counties. (From John Gillies, Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Late Reverend George Whitefield of Pembroke College, Oxford . . . : Faithfully Selected from His Original Papers, Journals, and Letters . . . *3d ed. rev., Aaron C. Seymour, ed. [Philadelphia: Bradford and Innskeep, 1812].)*

"A Stirring Among the Dry Bones": George Whitefield and the Great Awakening in Maryland

TIMOTHY PHILIP FEIST

Historians have routinely attributed Maryland's spotty participation in the eighteenth-century religious revival called the Great Awakening to exceptional factors in its social and cultural makeup. The colony's unique mix of socio-economic elements, including its preoccupation with trade, political controversies, paucity of urban centers, and widespread Enlightenment skepticism, supposedly made it poor tinder for this movement that engulfed the other American colonies. Following that presupposition, investigations of the limited revivals that did occur in the colony have focused on the peculiar demographics of the communities involved. Yet the Maryland experiences of George Whitefield suggest that prevailing thinking is perhaps in need of reassessment. When the role of a powerful evangelical preacher is taken into consideration, a different picture of Maryland and the Great Awakening takes shape.

Historians agree that two Awakening revivals occurred in Maryland, one in Bohemia Manor, Cecil County, in 1739–40, and another among the German settlers in Frederick County in the early 1740s. Both of these were highly localized incidents and can be explained in terms of their regional proximity to similar activity in Pennsylvania. The linguistic and geographical isolation of these communities from the colony's cultural, political, and economic center in the Annapolis tidewater muted their impact on the rest of the colony. The movement is thought to have skipped the tidewater entirely, and historians have accordingly discounted the few other manifestations of the Great Awakening in Maryland as insignificant.

In completely sidestepping the major pre-Revolutionary movement in colonial history, Maryland stands unique among her sister colonies. The Great Awakening involved the entire colonial population from Georgia to Massachusetts.[1] Converts and critics alike came from all social strata, and the colonists themselves recognized the Awakening as an unprecedented, inter-colonial phenomenon.[2] A significant exception such as the entirety of lower Maryland would naturally take on profound importance in colonial study, but to date only three Maryland historians have addressed the question.

Lieutenant Feist, a graduate of the Naval Academy, is serving as an artillery officer with Battery B, 1st Battalion, 11th Marines in Camp Pendleton, California.

Albert Werline mentions the Awakening and sees its failure in Maryland as confirmation of that society's essential stability. "Even the religious revival known as the Great Awakening, which stirred the middle colonies and Virginia at the middle of the eighteenth century, was little felt in Maryland; and the Establishment experienced no increase of strength of numbers as a result of the revival."[3] This represents a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of the Awakening and its attendant controversies. "The Establishment" rarely, if ever, benefited from the revival's fallout. Indeed, it is precisely the anti-hierarchical tenor of the revival that makes it so attractive to historians looking for revolutionary antecedents.

The other two historians offer more thorough analyses but base their hypotheses on similar presuppositions. Alan Barker remarked upon the "little theological mindedness in lower Maryland," which to him explained tidewater Maryland's abstention from the Awakening. Barker also pointed to "the unresisted dominance of the upper class" in intellectual matters in lower Maryland. In other words the area fell under the philosophical domain of planter aristocrats who owed their decidedly rationalistic philosophy to the likes of Tillotson and Allestree. He also claimed that since there is little evidence pointing either way, we ought to assume that "the inarticulate small planters" conformed wholeheartedly to the skeptical rationalism of their betters.[4]

Richard Cox largely followed Barker's lead. He claimed that the local church structure, weakened by the economic and political preoccupations of its laity, could not support a revival, and paradoxically that the local Church of England was strong enough to discourage revival. His thesis ultimately attributes Maryland's nonparticipation to a "lack of spiritual leadership, a scattered population, and the poor quality of Anglican clergy . . . the shortness of [George Whitefield's] stay in comparison to neighboring colonies, the absence of publicity, and the lack of a pervasive religious belief system."[5]

Like many historians studying the movement elsewhere in the colonies, both Cox and Barker assume that the Awakening was a social phenomenon generated by unique pressures and predispositions within certain communities, and that just as the cultural and economic situations in Pennsylvania and New England were hospitable to the movement, Maryland's situation must have been uniquely hostile. Economic preoccupations and political strife over clerical appointments and salaries distracted Marylanders from the Awakening message. Additionally, that message and the itinerancy and enthusiasm that accompanied it repelled all classes of Marylanders because they were deeply schooled in skeptical rationalism and the tenets of "high" religion.

If Maryland's societal formula rendered it uniquely impervious to the Great Awakening, the other colonies had social elements that predisposed them toward it. As outlined by Cox, elements such as a pietistic cultural and ethnic background, proximity to a revival epicenter such as Pennsylvania, an anti-rationalistic intel-

lectual climate, a supportive local church structure, and unbalanced socio-economic circumstances would have been essential to any instance of the Awakening.[6] Historians generally agree that these factors played a role in the movement, and they have been of special interest in Awakening studies of single populations. Wider comparison, however, fails to confirm socio-economic or cultural causes for the Great Awakening as a whole.[7]

Given the variety of ethnic, economic and cultural settings in which they occurred, Awakening revivals are difficult to link to a definable set of social causes. Evangelists throughout the Awakening preached the same message and used similar methods, but the movement's social implications varied depending upon the type of society in which it occurred. With its focus on the individual conscience, the eternal equality of all humans, and the inferiority of all human authority to that of the Scriptures, the Awakening message became "social dynamite" in hierarchical societies.[8] Colonial societies that were more flexible and pluralistic absorbed the message with less difficulty.

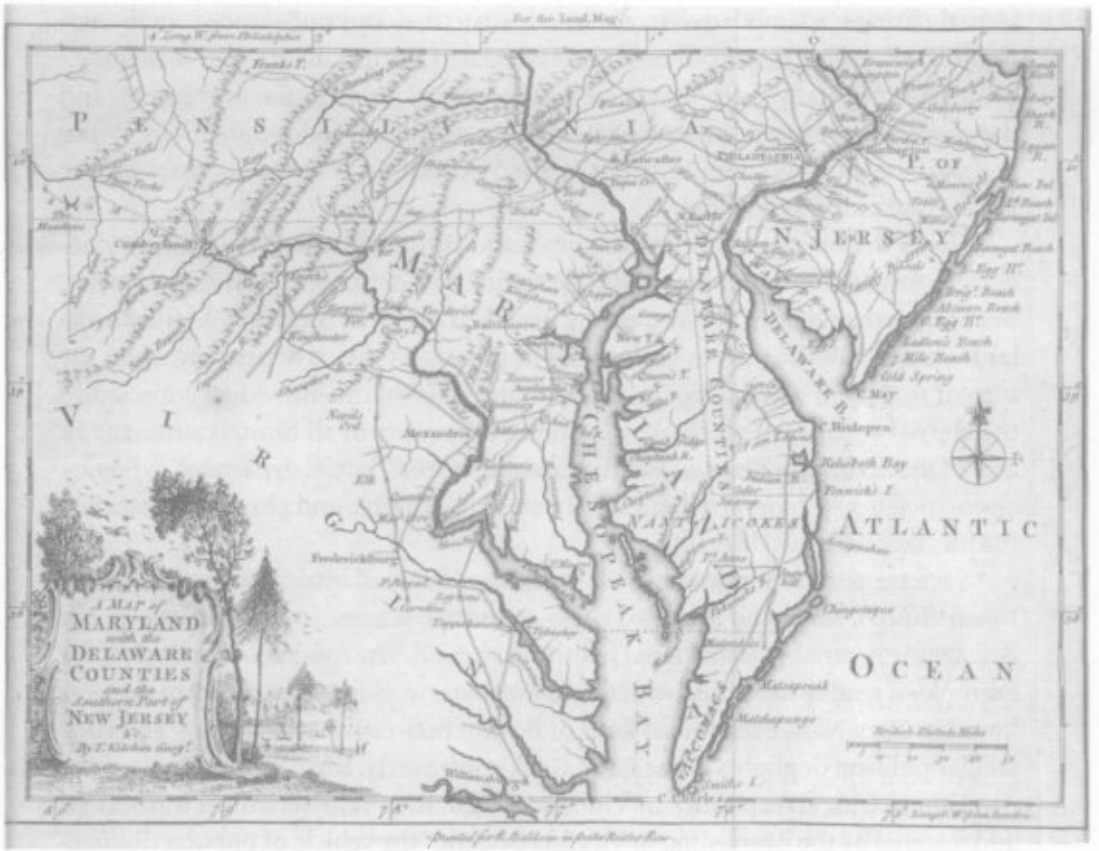
Societies such as Virginia and Massachusetts featured intricate connections between church, state, and stratified socio-economic classes. In such situations, the Awakening invariably engendered political upheaval. The Awakening in Boston, for example, is readily identified with the tumultuous working-class activism that followed it. Gary Nash even found links in Boston between the Awakening and such secular political dogfights as the Land Bank controversy. Rhys Isaac connected the Awakening with class politics in Virginia as well: the Presbyterianism introduced and fostered by the Awakening in Virginia became "the vehicle of popular disaffection." New Lights in that colony quickly took a prominent place in its class struggles.[9]

By contrast, Pennsylvania's free-flowing religious atmosphere and prosperous economy provided less social structure to be shaken by the Awakening's thunder. The colony's hierarchical Presbyterians experienced a bitter schism, but in the larger community the Awakening was a benign, if profound, change. In Philadelphia, for example, Benjamin Franklin described the city's newfound religious fervor as a "surprizing" but peaceful transformation.[10]

It appears, then, that instead of either inducing or excluding the Great Awakening, a society's particular structure merely determined the nature of the Awakening's impact upon it. This spectrum of reaction to the movement by various types of societies makes it useful in comparative studies, but it also renders explanations based on exceptional social factors particularly unsatisfying. Moreover, lower Maryland's non-Awakening remains essentially unexplained.

The Whirlwind

Enter George Whitefield. A young itinerant Anglican priest, Whitefield had gained wide notoriety in the British world for his revivalist activities among An-



Whitefield successfully recruited spiritually hungry Marylanders in the northeastern and western corners of the state. (Thomas Kitchin, A Map of Maryland with the Delaware Counties and the Southern Part of New Jersey, 1757. *Courtesy Willard J. Hackerman.)*

glican commoners in England. A single Whitefield sermon often attracted thousands of listeners, and many commentators noted highly emotional responses from his audiences, a suspicious phenomenon in an age committed to reason, order, and the restraint of human passions. Equally unusual, Whitefield employed a highly theatrical preaching style, abandoning carefully written texts for a dramatic, extemporaneous development of his theme.[11]

In 1739 Whitefield hit the American colonies like a whirlwind. Wherever he traveled Awakening revivals followed, with sensationally large, moaning audiences, and when he moved on, he left in his wake disturbingly assertive and independently minded converts among the laity. He became such a symbol of the movement as a whole that a position taken on Whitefield was understood to define one's stance toward the entire Awakening.[12]

Historians have called him America's first national celebrity, symbolic of the Awakening not only as a movement but also as an initial source of common iden-

tity among the colonies. Historians attribute his unprecedented success to several factors: his genius for communication, his remarkably modern use of the press to generate advance publicity and to maintain public support, his message based on literally interpreted Scripture, and the basic authenticity of a man who preached what he had himself experienced.[13]

This acknowledged catalyst and symbol of the Great Awakening visited Maryland eight times during the 1740s. His first visit—part of the aforementioned Cecil County revival—lasted seven days, from the third to the tenth of December 1739. The second visit was an incidental three-day transit on May 13–15, 1740. A short but purposeful sojourn in southeastern Pennsylvania (present day Delaware) included four days in Cecil County on November 21–24, 1740. During his fourth visit, documented only in Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1745, Whitefield preached eight times on a trip south, including a sermon to the governor and colonial assembly on September 27. He made a twelve-day sweep through Cecil County on June 14–26, 1746, and in late 1746 he returned again, remaining for over a month in October and November. His next visit was a lengthy sweep of the Eastern Shore lasting from April 25 to May 30. Finally, Whitefield stopped for a single day in Bohemia on September 17, 1747, during yet another journey southward. His next documented visit would not come until 1754 when he again dropped in to Bohemia Manor to visit friends on December 27. Most of these visits were incidental to journeys to or from the orphanage he established and supported in Bethesda, Georgia. Only three, in June 1746, in October–November 1746, and in April–May 1747, were significant attempts to spread the Awakening message in Maryland proper.

Because of Maryland's scattered population and the short notice of his coming, only fifteen hundred people heard Whitefield's first sermon on Maryland soil. Even so, he claimed that "many were deeply affected" on December 3, 1739. On the next day in Joppa, he preached to about forty people in a small church. He came away burdened: "Maryland, as far as I can hear, seems to be a place as yet unwatered with the true Gospel of Christ." Because the people were spread far apart and large gatherings would be difficult, there was "no likelihood of much good being done in [Maryland], unless one abide there for some time."[14] While Whitefield intended to spread the Awakening message every time he preached, he clearly recognized a difference in effect between a brief visit and an extended revival effort.

Traveling on to Annapolis, Whitefield met Governor Samuel Ogle on December 6, 1739, and Reverend Sterling, rector of St. Anne's Parish, offered Whitefield "his pulpit, his house, or anything he could supply me with." His conversation with Reverend Sterling "ran chiefly on the new birth and the folly of the sinfulness of those amusements whereby the polite part of the world are so fatally diverted from the one thing needful." The next day, a Friday, Governor Ogle "put aside his court to come to morning service" and to dine with Whitefield. After the sermon, Parson Sterling "seemed somewhat affected and under convictions."[15]

The only known written response that his visit to Annapolis provoked was a letter from a prominent member of St. Anne's Parish, Stephen Bordley, to a close friend, Matthias Harris. Bordley echoed Whitefield's more famous Old Light critics, roundly abusing the itinerant's doctrine, appearance, and preaching style. After arousing a typical conservative reaction in at least one Annapolitan, Whitefield did not stay long enough to perpetuate any controversy he may have sparked. He left Annapolis on December 8, 1739, and traveled through Upper Marlborough, Port Tobacco, and Potomac, pausing at Piscataway for an uneventful Sunday sermon.[16]

This first journey through Maryland set the stage for the evangelist's subsequent expeditions to the colony. Significantly, he established an acquaintance with Governor Ogle who would be governor again during Whitefield's major evangelistic efforts in 1746 and 1747.[17] He also got a feel for Maryland's spiritual state, making assessments of the colony's cultural and intellectual climate that were similar to those of modern historians. "I fear," he wrote, "Deism has spread much in these parts. I cannot say I have met with many here who seem truly to have the fear of God before their eyes." He wrote from Upper Marlborough that at Annapolis he had "preached twice, and spoke to some ladies concerning the vanity of their false politeness. But alas, they are wedded to their Quadrille and Ombre. The minister of the place was under convictions. He wept twice, and earnestly begged my prayers. He will not frighten the people with harsh doctrine he loves to prophesy smooth things." In the end, he could only "trust the time will come when God will visit these dark corners of the earth."[18] If Maryland was a "corner of the earth," materialism and skeptical rationalism was its darkness.

In the spring of the next year, Whitefield visited Cecil County on the Pennsylvania border and found fertile soil for his New Birth seed. The ground there had been prepared for some time previously "by the ministry of Mr. Blair, the Messrs. Tennent, and Mr. Cross," all New Light preachers. In Nottingham he preached to "near twelve thousand" and was surprised "to see such a multitude gathered together, and in such a desert place . . . thousands cried out, so that they almost drowned my voice." Whitefield wrote later that "at Nottingham and Mr. Blair's how did God manifest his glory! . . . such a melting, such a crying, (they say) was scarcely ever seen." The next day Whitefield preached at Fagg's Manor to a crowd about as large as that at Nottingham had been.[19] These scenes doubtless were familiar and pleasing to the revivalist, accustomed as he was to large audiences and to pronounced emotional responses to his preaching.

In the year after this first classic positive response to Whitefield in Cecil County, the Presbyterian church at Nottingham experienced an Old Light-New Light split. The New Lights built themselves a new meeting house, and in 1744 they invited Reverend Samuel Finley to be their permanent pastor.[20] Whitefield must bear some responsibility for this, but just as in most other areas, he was not alone in spreading New Light ideas.

During late November 1740, Whitefield again visited Nottingham and Fagg's Manor, where he "preached to many thousands." The highlight of this visit came at Bohemia Manor. On the lands of Peter Bayard, a Cecil County Anglican, Whitefield preached to two thousand people and claimed not to have "seen a more solid melting since my arrival." His "soul rejoiced to see salvation brought to Maryland," the colony which had borne his unqualified lament not a year before.[21]

Salvation brought to Cecil County, however, was not necessarily salvation brought to Maryland. Presbyterian New Lights had traveled about the county before, and though they might not have penetrated as far south as Bohemia Manor, the manor's residents must have been relatively familiar with New Light evangelists, their message, and their style.

In addition Cecil County had long been something of an outland in the colony. The Jesuits founded a school there in 1744 to which the repressed but still vigorous Catholic minority sent its sons for proper education. Significantly, Cecil County was also a major point of entry for Scots-Irish Presbyterians, a community identified as culturally predisposed toward the Awakening.[22] Demographically and culturally Cecil County resembled Pennsylvania more than the rest of Maryland, especially the tidewater. Accordingly, the Awakening in Cecil County could be counted as essentially an extension of the controversy among Pennsylvania's Presbyterians.

However, Whitefield's time at Bohemia Manor would later have significance for the rest of the Eastern Shore. His message deeply affected the Bayard family, especially Susannah Bayard, Peter's wife, whom Whitefield later described as "a true mother in Israel." Whitefield would visit the Bayards at least four more times over the next decade. A century and a half later, Reverend Charles Mallery wrote, though not with entire disinterest, that Whitefield "exerted a wonderful influence for good upon the inhabitants of Bohemia Manor, which was felt even up to within a comparatively recent date."[23] The Bayard residence became his informal headquarters in Maryland and the hub of his later efforts on the Eastern Shore.[24]

Between 1741 and 1746, Whitefield itinerated only once through Maryland, preaching as he traveled toward Georgia, so that his few days are more accurately described as a passing shot than a full-scale evangelistic endeavor. We know of this tour only from a short paragraph in Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette:*

> We hear from Annapolis, in Maryland, that the Rev. Mr. Whitefield arriv'd there on the 27th [of September] past having preach'd eight times on his Way from Philadelphia. The next Day he preached there before the Council and Assembly, and was to preach again on Sunday. He had met with very kind Entertainment in that Province.[25]

We are left to wonder what "kind Entertainment" he enjoyed. One surmises that the tidewater Marylanders offered Whitefield a politely tolerant but largely

unresponsive audience—the sort that had so disappointed the preacher in 1739. Months later, during his first visit of 1746, Whitefield would appear shocked and elated at Maryland's vigorous response to his efforts. Since this later reaction indicates a marked change in response, it is safe to assume that his ten sermons in 1745 yielded little in the way of emotion, converts, or controversy.

"A Stirring Among the Dry Bones"

The Great Awakening in Maryland actually began in earnest during the summer of 1746. In June, Whitefield entered the colony through Cecil County, his accustomed portal. Although he intended to stay for the whole summer, Maryland's infamous heat allowed him only about two weeks before forcing him northward. Despite this relatively short amount of time, Whitefield's letters mark a dramatic shift in his assessment of Maryland's response to the Awakening message. At Bohemia, he wrote on June 16, "Fresh doors are opening every where in America. I am now in Maryland. Congregations are very large and the Lord is pleased to follow the word with His mighty power. I intend labouring in these parts all this summer. The heat will be very trying."[26] To another New Light preacher he confided, "the fields here are everywhere white ready unto harvest. I trust the time for favouring these Southern Provinces is come. Last night there was a considerable stirring among the dry bones, and I hear people all along are thirsting after the word."[27] To a third sympathizer he confided, "People in these parts are athirst for the word . . . a stirring among the dry bones."[28]

Five days later, from New Town, his optimism undiminished but with new respect for the heat, he wrote, "I trust an effectual door is opened in Maryland for preaching the Everlasting Gospel. I have been in this Province about a week and have preached about a dozen times. Congregations have been large, God has been with me, prejudices have subsided and several have been brought under good impressions. I would go to the very Extend of the Province on the Easton shore, but think it more prudent to deferr it till the weather is cooler." To a fellow believer in Charleston, South Carolina, he wrote, that the New Town congregations were "large and I trust much good will be done to souls in these parts." Christ "has opened a door for preaching a Crucified Redeemer in Maryland," he reported in a third letter. "Congregations have been large and people's prejudice in a good degree subsided." At Bohemia again, as he retreated to Philadelphia, he wrote, "Our Lord I trust is now about to let his word run and be glorified in this Province. Here is a prospect of a great and glorious Awakening. I have lately seen much of the Redeemer's power accompanying a preached Gospel."[29]

Although a prospect may have existed, Whitefield's assessments of Maryland's receptivity to his message would have to wait until the autumn of 1746 when he returned to spend considerable time and effort on the Eastern Shore. One is left to

imagine what many factors may have caused the preacher's sudden optimism, what "prejudices" had subsided. He certainly thought that Maryland had changed from an unresponsive wasteland to a field of teeming opportunity, and something caused him to think that way.

Given the emotional responses of his audiences in other colonies it is not hard to imagine what he meant by "dry bones" stirring or "good impressions." Apparently, several in the crowds that gathered to hear him were affected as deeply as their counterparts in Boston and Philadelphia had been. Such emotional outpourings would have been encouraging to Whitefield, for they were generally what he looked to as indicators of his effectiveness.

There were also indications of encouragement for Whitefield coming from the highest level of government in Maryland. Earlier in May, writing to a Mrs. Carpenter, a convert in Annapolis, Whitefield alluded to his relationship with Governor Ogle, asking her to convey his respects to him and Mrs. Ogle.[30] As he began his summer journey, Whitefield wrote of "favour in the eyes of the Governor and people," and as he finished his fortnight's visit, Whitefield reported that, "The Governour has been pleased to offer me the best Parsonage in his gift, but my mind is still bent on itinerating."[31] Apparently, he had turned down several such offers in other colonies where his preaching had been well received, but to have an offer made in such a "dark corner of the earth" must have had special significance.[32] Certainly too, neither offering nor declining the "best parsonage" in a colony of lucrative clerical livings was a whimsical decision.

The governor may have had several reasons for making such an offer. Perhaps he saw a prospect of improving and bolstering the embattled Anglican establishment of his colony with Whitefield's international prestige, persuasive power, and personal integrity. In the traditional church-state scheme, this would strengthen the government and social order of the whole colony. Given Whitefield's combative relationship with the Church of England in the other colonies, however, this seems less than probable. More likely, Governor Ogle had developed a personal interest in Whitefield's message. His offer to "get my sermons and some other tracts neately bound" for Governor Ogle seems to point as much to a personal as to an official motivation in the governor's offer.[33] Regardless, Whitefield caused enough of a stir in two weeks to get the governor's attention from across the Chesapeake.

Whitefield's autumn experience seems not to have chilled his summertime optimism. He returned to Maryland in late September after a summer in Philadelphia during which "the longer he staid [his congregations] increased the more." A month later, Benjamin Franklin reported to his readers that "the Rev. Mr. Whitefield has preached in six different Counties there, with great Success, to very large and attentive Auditories."[34] Whitefield's own letters reflect his good spirits. At Bohemia approximately two weeks into his tour, his audiences regenerated his own enthu-

siasm. "I trust that the time for favouring this and the neighboring southern provinces is come," he wrote. "Everywhere almost, the door is opened for preaching, great numbers flock to hear, and the power of an ascended Saviour attends the world. It is surprising, how the LORD causes prejudices to subside, and makes my former most bitter enemies to be at peace with me." As he passed through Annapolis on his way to Virginia, he noted that he had lately been in seven Maryland counties "and preached with abundant success." "The harvest is great here," he wrote. "I have . . . preached to great congregations of people with great power."[35]

Whitefield preached in an unnamed six counties in Maryland from mid-September to early November 1746. From his earlier statements of intent, one deduces that those six counties must have been on the Eastern Shore. As in the summer, Whitefield refers to subsiding prejudices, coupled this time with unspecified bitter enemies. Again, one wonders what great animosities he could have aroused during his very limited, short, and scattered itinerations of the previous six years.

There is one prejudice that definitely arose during his 1746 trip. Parson Sterling, the rector who had been weeping and "under convictions" during Whitefield's first visit to Annapolis in 1739, now verbally attacked Whitefield "in the most violent, sarcastical, nay I must say Billingsgate terms."[36] One notes in this a striking contrast between the two prominent Maryland men whom Whitefield recorded meeting during his first visit. After six years of intermittent contact, Governor Ogle offered Whitefield a parish, and Parson Sterling offered him invective. It would be unwarranted to consider Governor Ogle a New Light. The evidence will not support calling him anything more than a sympathizer or a personal friend, perhaps in the vein of Benjamin Franklin.[37] To the extent that he took a position, however, Parson Sterling was a classic Old Light. Both cases indicate that Whitefield's claims to be causing a considerable stir on the Eastern Shore were justified.

In Whitefield's letters, and in the few recorded responses to his visits, a changed atmosphere is apparent. The contrast between his assessment of Maryland in 1746 and those he had made in 1739 is significant. His later descriptions of "great congregations," "abundant success," open doors, and subsiding prejudices, indicate a presence of the Great Awakening in Maryland far more extensive than has previously been reckoned.

This conclusion is only augmented by Whitefield's following itineration through the length of the Eastern Shore in April and May 1747. Beginning on the twenty-sixth of April, Whitefield intended to "take a three weeks circuit in hunting after Maryland sinners." He still saw "thousands in these Southern parts . . . that scarce ever heard of redeeming grace and love." He reported that "the people in these Southern parts are like people that have no shepherd," but that they "are very ready to hear, and the word seems to fasten in some souls."[38]

While in Maryland, his years of relentless travel and public speaking began to take its toll, but he was determined to press through his intended circuit. Weak-

ened or not, he reported from Wicomico that "my preaching is blessed to poor souls. Amazing love! Maryland is yielding converts to the blessed Jesus. The gospel seems to be moving southward." "And have the Marylanders also received the grace of God?" he wrote, "I trust some have indeed received his grace in sincerity."[39]

At New Town, toward the end of his journey, he began to make assessments. "I have been now a three hundred mile circuit in Maryland and through one or two counties in Pennsylvania," he reported to a fellow New Light. "Everywhere people have a hearing ear, and I trust some have an obedient heart." To another he wrote, "My labors in fresh places are made very acceptable daily. I have now been on the stretch, preaching constantly for almost three weeks. I hope I can say with sincerity . . . that God hath been with me of a truth. . . . These southern colonies lie in darkness, and yet, as far as I find, are as willing to receive the gospel as others. If some books could be purchased to dispose among poor people, much good might be done.[40]

Great congregations, hearing ears, converts, fields white unto the harvest, stirrings among dry bones: these are phrases typical of the way Whitefield described his renowned evangelistic successes in New England and the Middle Colonies. Unlike many of its sister colonies, Maryland was a place where the Grand Itinerant would have to "hunt in the woods" for hearers rather than rely on the large crowds that gathered easily in urban areas, but he claims they heard him nonetheless. If this is true, then most of the Eastern Shore and not just Cecil County participated in the Great Awakening.

The Grand Itinerant's claims merit close evaluation. Historians study Whitefield because of his methods almost as much as his social impact.[41] In a sense, he used contemporary commercial techniques to market his ministry. He made heavy and skillful use of print for publicity. Handbills advertised his coming sometimes for weeks before he arrived, and he kept the world abreast of his ministry through published journals such as those quoted in previous pages. His observations and claims regarding Maryland were therefore written with a reading public in mind.

Given the inherent bias of self-publicity, we cannot accept Whitefield's claims out of hand. His numbers especially must be suspect given the difficulties of estimating crowd sizes and the benefit of over-estimation to Whitefield's own image. Otherwise, though, his references to people and places square with known facts.

To his credit, Whitefield's journals do not portray his efforts or his person in an exclusively positive light as one would expect of pure propaganda. He recorded his own spiritual trials, his emotional and physical weakness, and the disappointing results of his evangelistic efforts. This is not entirely surprising; the Calvinistic beliefs of his supporters and likely readers assumed fundamental shortcomings in every human being. A too rosy picture would have been suspect to them, so there was little incentive for Whitefield to gloss over his flaws.[42] Regardless, his claims remain subjective and cannot yield valid conclusions without corroboration.

Such evidence should be simple to identify. Where Awakening revivals took hold, controversy soon followed. If New Lights appeared on the Eastern Shore, one anticipates finding an Old Light reaction. Given typical after-effects of an Awakening revival, one would expect to find not only active dissenter congregations, but also complaints from Establishment clergy and conservative laymen about such things as disorder, 'enthusiasm,' congregants abandoning the Church for sects, itinerant preachers and false doctrines.[43]

In eastern Maryland we find exactly those after-effects of the Awakening. Southern historian Carl Bridenbaugh noted the strength of dissenter congregations in Virginia and on the Eastern Shore in the 1740s and 1750s. "Nothing so completely revealed the indifference and ineptitude of the Church of England and the starved spiritual condition of the people" of the Chesapeake colonies as the "unprecedented success of the Great Awakening," he wrote. From Whitefield's first visit to America in 1739,

> strange and illegal bodies took to gathering stray lambs in such numbers that by the outbreak of the Revolution, although the Anglicans still held a bare majority in Maryland, a very large majority of Virginia's people were dissenters, and the Albemarle district contained even more than Old Dominion. Presbyterians . . . Quakers, and Baptists made daring inroads in such Tidewater-Anglican strongholds as the Northern Neck and Nansemond, as well as the Eastern Shore. . . . Denounced by the clergy as whimsical enthusiasts and coerced by the civil authorities, the newer denominations nevertheless steadily poached upon Episcopal preserves.[44]

In 1750, shortly after Whitefield's major evangelistic efforts on the Eastern Shore, an agent of the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a Mr. Bacon, reported to London that clerical corruption in Maryland "leaves some simple well meaning People a prey to the emissaries of the Church of Rome, or to the enthusiasm of the new Light and other Itinerant Preachers who not long ago were very numerous, especially in the parts bordering on Pennsylvania." Rev. Adams of Somerset County complained in 1751 that "from [the immoral behavior among Maryland clergy] the Enthusiasts and Schismaticks, rambling up and down the Provinces, seeking whom they may seduce have too much prevailed on the wavering and ignorant . . . this being the case in many Parishes."[45]

New Light sources also illuminate the Maryland situation. During the Awakening years, an evangelical "concert of prayer," an organized effort to focus prayers in different places on the same objective, included Marylanders among its participants. In 1751, the famous Virginia Presbyterian Samuel Davies noted a large and largely unsatisfied demand for New Light pastors in Maryland.[46]

By contrast, Dissenter sects, itinerant preachers, and enthusiasm were not concerns during the years prior to the Awakening. Pre-Awakening letters from Maryland's Anglican parsons indicate instead a concern over apparent Catholic gains and note "but few sectaries" even on the Eastern Shore.[47]

Clearly, significant changes occurred between 1735 and 1750. Sometime during the 1740s, New Lights, itinerants, and a laity susceptible to enthusiasm began to generate the majority of clerical complaints and concerns. New Lights outside Maryland recognized counterparts inside the colony, included them in their trans-colonial efforts, and communicated with them.

The corroborative evidence is admittedly less than overwhelming. A search of the *Maryland Gazette* for any reference to the Awakening comes up dry, but the *Gazette* focused more heavily on economic and European news than on religious matters. A thorough survey of contemporary records, diaries, and letters from the Eastern Shore will be necessary before we can determine the nature and extent of Maryland's Eastern Shore Awakening with an acceptable degree of certainty. Still, the bits of evidence that have been discovered cannot be denied, and they tend to validate Whitefield's accounts. At the very least, one can conclude that the Eastern Shore was no more impervious to the Awakening than the rest of the colonies. Perhaps prematurely one can also claim that the Great Awakening began in earnest on the Eastern Shore during Whitefield's crusades in 1746 and 1747. Maryland may have been less of an exception than has been assumed.[48]

But Whitefield's accounts yield us far more than a guarded conclusion about a local revival. The Eastern Shore's experience, like that of the rest of the colonies, suggests that the Awakening message could and did take hold in a variety of places, not just in areas with exceptionally receptive cultures. Models based on unique cultural, social, intellectual, and economic factors provide insufficient explanations for the western tidewater's abstention. By indicating where he did *not* go as well as where he went, however, Whitefield's journals point us toward a more likely, if deceptively simple, answer.

The answer, it appears, resides with the preachers. New Light meetings centered on the preacher's sermon. In the absence of a preacher to speak truth and to outline the right way, New Lights assumed that the right way would be unlighted and little traveled.[49] The Awakening message may have fit diverse societal situations, but preachers were the ones who applied it to them.[50] Wherever Whitefield or someone like him preached the Awakening message for a significant period of time, the Awakening followed.[51] This held true from the streets of Boston to the scattered farms of the Eastern Shore.

Consequently, examination of the available evidence in southern Maryland consistently leads to this single question: "Where were the preachers?" Tidewater Maryland had no resident New Light pastors such as Massachusetts' Jonathan Edwards, Virginia's Samuel Davies, or Cecil County's Samuel Finley, and aside

from Whitefield himself there is no record of any itinerant New Light preacher evangelizing in the tidewater area.[52] Indeed, George Whitefield is the only New Light known to have even traversed the Maryland tidewater, and his travels there were singularly short.

From his first sojourn in the colony Whitefield saw that New Light preachers would have to make a seriously time-intensive effort there if the Awakening message were to have an adequate hearing in southern Maryland.[53] He recognized that people typically manage to ignore new or uncomfortable ideas unless they are exposed to those ideas repeatedly over time. An occasional smattering of sermons would effect far less than the cumulative impact of a focused evangelistic effort.

Yet, it does not appear that such an effort was made in the western tidewater. Over five years Whitefield preached in the western tidewater area perhaps fifteen or twenty times. Compare this with the Eastern Shore where Whitefield preached fifteen times per week for three, month-long periods during 1746 and 1747, and it becomes apparent that Whitefield's visits to the western tidewater were manifestly brief and transitory. Simply put, the western tidewater was not given ample opportunity to consider the Awakening message during the 1740s.

In contrast, George Whitefield's efforts on the Eastern Shore were numerous and intensive. His labors apparently yielded typical results: large, emotional audiences, strident Old Light responses, and a lasting legacy of New Light ferment. This pattern, a significant evangelistic effort followed by revival and its attendant social controversy, constitutes the form and texture of the Great Awakening. That this pattern did not appear in the western tidewater in the complete absence of an evangelistic effort should come as no surprise. No society can be expected to accept, reject, or even argue over ideas that have not been presented to it.

Historians of the Great Awakening both in and out of Maryland would do well to look to the preachers of the Awakening message for their cues. Much has been sought, and not unreasonably, in the makeup and background of the various societies that the Great Awakening affected. However, conclusions reached in such studies have been mixed, and when taken as a whole they often conflict. This has left us without an effective, unified understanding of a profound movement among societies that would form a new nation scarcely three decades later.

One observes that the Awakening, as it affected more and more colonial societies, was not a spontaneous eruption from the right mix of societal characteristics. Rather, it was a broad and varied response to a singular message spread almost entirely by verbal messengers. It can be argued that this was a message whose time had come for particular quantifiable reasons, but George Whitefield's efforts in Maryland highlight the essential role of the messenger in the movement's success. The presence of the movement was directly related to the presence of the preachers. Where New Light preachers made strong evangelistic efforts, and especially where they settled, the Awakening followed. In areas like Maryland's western

tidewater, where these preachers were conspicuously absent, so was the Great Awakening.

NOTES

1. This is a generally accepted notion among colonial historians: "It is safe to say that most of the colonists in the 1740s, if not converted themselves, knew someone who was, or had at least heard revival preaching." See Richard L. Bushman, ed., *The Great Awakening: Documents on the Revival of Religion, 1740–1745* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), xi.
2. One of the most significant aspects of the Great Awakening was the way it transcended the boundaries that normally defined religion, social rank, race, and gender in colonial society. New Lights saw themselves as participants in a "transatlantic community of saints." Among other things, establishment of *The Christian History*, a magazine dedicated to chronicling the revival's course, indicates that the movement was seen at the time to be widespread and unified. See Timothy D. Hall, *Contested Boundaries: Itinerancy and the Reshaping of the Colonial American Religious World* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994), 7, 10, 11–12. One of the most notable characteristics of the Awakeners was their open embrace of New Lights from different denominations. See Bushman, *Documents on the Revival of Religion*, 29, 109; Gerald J. Goodwin, "The Anglican Reaction to the Great Awakening," *The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 25 (1966): 356, 363; Hall, *Contested Boundaries*, 109; John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 190; and Dietmar Rothermund, "The Americanization of Denominations," in Darrell B. Rutman, ed., *The Great Awakening: Event and Exegesis* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1970), 166. Awakeners not only from various British sects but also German pietist sects accepted as valid the others' New Birth message. See Alan Heimert, "Toward the Republic," in Rutman, ed., *Great Awakening*, 125; Joseph B. Frantz, "The Awakening of Religion Among the German Settlers in the Middle Colonies," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 33 (1976): 276. The Awakening spread through all of the colonies' European immigrants. Notable too is the Awakeners' outreach to and acceptance by African slaves and various Indian tribes. Rutman, ed., *Great Awakening*, 53; Rothermund, "The Americanization of Denominations," 181; William Warren Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942), 317; Harry S. Stout, *The Divine Dramatist: George Whitefield and the Rise of Modern Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1991), 100; Bushman, *Documents on the Revival of Religion*, 27; Jane T. Merritt, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood: Moravians and the Indian Great Awakening in Pennsylvania," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 54 (1997): 723.
3. Albert Warwick Werline, *Problems of Church and State in Maryland During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (South Lancaster, Mass.: College Press, 1948), 4, 38.
4. Charles Albro Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), 32, 52, 67.
5. Richard Cox, "The Great Awakening in Maryland" (Honors thesis, Towson State University, 1972), 21, 40; Cox, "Stephen Bordley, George Whitefield and the Great Awakening in Maryland," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 46 (1977): 298.
6. Cox, "The Great Awakening in Maryland," 18, 21.
7. "Although much has been written on the Great Awakening, there are few general assessments—a reflection of the sectional peculiarities that separate the course followed in the

Carolinas, Virginia, the Middle Colonies, and New England. Invariably, generalizations are drawn from a particular area and extended elsewhere by extrapolation." See Rutman, *Great Awakening*, 198. "Historians, less ready to admit either its greatness or its generality, have in concert described the revival as limited to this area or that, to this social class exclusive of that, and as brought about by this or that socio-economic force . . . yet the phenomenon known as the Great Awakening is of such proportions as to lead to its interpretation as something other than a religious movement." Edwin S. Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 89; Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 219.

8. Nash, *Urban Crucible*, 206. In addition to supreme Biblical authority, individual responsibility, and equal worth regardless of station, the lifestyle demanded by the New Birth's personal relationship to God added another element of political combustibility. "The popular evangelicals had instituted an inversion of customary relationships between religion and daily life. Where traditional conventions tended to assign compartmentalized times and places to religion—Sundays (and then the service hour only) at the churches—the New Lights strove to suffuse all aspects of living with reminders of God's wrath and of His saving grace. Where the liturgical services of the establishment had been short intervals of authoritative decorum in a rambunctious social world, the worship of the evangelicals was a tumultuous release from a social life upon which they sought to impose intense orderliness. Against the customary conviviality of proud contest and self-assertion was set solemn brotherhood commenced in denial of the flesh, confirmed in self-abnegation, and consecrated in an ecstatic release into Joy through tears." See Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 264.

9. Nash, *Urban Crucible*, 154, 204–8; Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, 260.

10. "It was wonderful to see the Change soon made in the Manners of our Inhabitants; from being thoughtless or indifferent about Religion, it seem'd as if all the World were growing Religious; so that one could not walk thro' the Town in an Evening without Hearing Psalms sung in different Families of every Street." Benjamin Franklin, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. 11, ed., Leonard Labaree, William B. Willcox, et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 241n., quoted in Nash, *Urban Crucible*, 220. "The alteration in the Face of Religion here is altogether surprising. Never did the People show so great a Willingness to attend Sermons, nor the Preachers greater Zeal and Diligence in performing the Duties of their Function. Religion is become the Subject of most Conversations. No Books are in Request but those of Piety and Devotion; and instead of idle Songs and Ballads, the People are everywhere entertaining themselves with Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs." Benjamin Franklin, *Pennsylvania Gazette* (June 12, 1740; reprinted in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 2:287–88) quoted in Nash, *Urban Crucible*, 220.

11. Stout, *Divine Dramatist*, xix.

12. Whitefield is the central figure of Awakening history and a prime vehicle for research on the subject in areas like Maryland where the Awakening remains something of an enigma. His name "became the symbol of true revival and vital piety among evangelically minded adherents of denominations who could agree on little else." See Stout, *Divine Dramatist*, 127. By declaring against Whitefield in 1744 and 1745, Harvard and Yale Universities "implicitly registered their official disapproval of the Awakening." (Bushman, *Documents on the Revival of Religion*, 109.) "Perhaps even more than Jonathan Edwards, it can be fairly said that he set in motion the forces which would thereafter influence American popular religion. In his seven American journeys, Whitefield became the unifier of those scattered awakenings." John Frederick

Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 189. See also, Hall, *Contested Boundaries*, 69.

13. Stout, *Divine Dramatist*, xiv, 220. Benjamin Franklin "introduced Whitefield to the American press and later served as his Pennsylvania agent for orphan-house funds." For more on Whitefield's use of the press and modern commercial methods, see *Divine Dramatist*, xvii; Nash, *Urban Crucible*, 206; Frank Lambert, "*Pedlar in Divinity*": *George Whitefield and the Transatlantic Revivals* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994). Stout observes that Whitefield's "piety was molded by a conversion experience that, he passionately believed, was unmerited and of divine origin." He also notes that Whitefield's life, while single-minded, was not marred by the sexual or financial improprieties that have become stereotypical of modern evangelists (*Divine Dramatist*, xxiii, 230). "Having once experienced the dramatic impact of scripture, Whitefield went on to preach what he had seen with his own eyes." Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 199. Woolverton outlines what he believes to be the three roots of Whitefield's success in ibid., 198.

14. George Whitefield, *George Whitefield's Journals (1737–1741) To Which is Prefixed His "Short Account" (1746) and "Further Account" (1747)*, William Wale, ed. (London: Henry J. Drane, 1905; repr., Gainesville, Fla.: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1969), 361.

15. Ibid., 363, 365.

16. Cox, "Bordley," 297–307; Whitefield, *Journals*, 366.

17. Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., eds., "Ogle, Samuel," in *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985).

18. Whitefield, *Journals*, 361, 365; George Whitefield, Upper Marlborough, Md., to Mr. N —, December 8, 1739, in *The Works of the Rev'd George Whitefield. M.A. Late of Pembroke-College, Oxford, and Chaplain to the Rt. Hon. Countess of Huntington containing All His Sermons and Tracts Which have been already published: With A Select Collection of Letters Written to his most intimate Friends, and Persons of Distinction, in England, Scotland, Ireland, and America, from the Year 1734, to 1770, including the whole Period of his Ministry Also Some other Pieces on Important Subjects, never before printed, prepared by Himself for the Press. To which is prefixed An Account of his Life, Compiled from his Original Papers and Letters*, Volume 2, John Gillies, ed. (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1771), 135.

19. Whitefield, *Journals*, 422; Whitefield, *Works*, 169. Reference to a crowd of 8,000 people rather than 12,000 is made in Alice Miller, *Cecil County, MD: A Study in Local History* (Elkton, Md.: C&L Printing and Specialty Co., 1949), n.142.

20. Barker, *Background of the Revolution in Maryland*, 16; Miller, *Cecil County*, 142.

21. Whitefield, *Journals*, 500–501; Papenfuse, et al., eds., "Bayard, Peter," *A Biographical Dictionary*, 118.

22. Barker, *Background of the Revolution in Maryland*, 44; Miller, *Cecil County*, 70. For more thorough information on Scots-Irish demographics, see Edwin S. Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 1920.

23. Charles Mallery, "Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor: Their Homes and Graves," *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware* (Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware, 1888), 62; Whitefield, *Journals*, 501.

24. John W. Christie, ed., "Newly Discovered Letters of George Whitefield 1745–1746, Part 3," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* (December 1954), n.265. Whitefield, *Works*, 112.

25. Benjamin Franklin, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 10, 1745 and October 10, 1745.

26. Whitefield to Mr. Thomas Jones, June 16, 1746, in Christie, "Part 3," 259.

27. Whitefield to Rev. Mr. Hobby, June 16, 1746, in Christie, "Part 3," 259.

28. Whitefield to Mr. Welch, June 16, 1746, in Christie, "Part 3," 259.

29. Whitefield to Rev. Mr. Gee, Boston, June 21, 1746; Whitefield to Mr. Smith, Charlestown, South Carolina, June 21, 1746; Whitefield to Mr. West, June 21, 1746; and Whitefield to Mr. Sims, June 26, 1746, in Christie, "Part 3," 261–64.
30. In his letter to Mrs. Carpenter, Whitefield sent his respects to Mr. Carpenter, Governor and Mrs. Ogle, a Mr. Gordon, and Mrs. Carpenter's "Friend Mrs. M — n." Even if they were not converts to the New Birth, Whitefield was at least on friendly terms with several Annapolitans. This indicates that even his notably brief visits to southern Maryland had some effect there. Whitefield to Mrs. Carpenter, Annapolis, May 18, 1746, in "Newly Discovered Letters of George Whitefield 1745–46, [Part] 2" John W. Christie, ed., *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* (September 1954), 164.
31. Whitefield to Mrs. Longden, England, June 17, 1746; and Whitefield to Rev. Mr. Richardson, London, June 26, 1746, in Christie, "Part 3," 255, 265.
32. Stout, *Divine Dramatist*, 197.
33. Whitefield to Mrs. Carpenter, Annapolis, June 14, 1746, in Christie, "Part 3," 254.
34. Benjamin Franklin, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 25 and November 13, 1746.
35. Whitefield to Rev. Mr. Z—, October 8, 1746 in *Works*, 2:84; Whitefield to Mr. H— H—, November 8, 1746; and Whitefield to "a friend at the Tabernacle," London, November 8, 1746, in *Works*, 2:84. Also quoted in Joseph Tracy, *The Great Awakening* (1845; repr., New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), 384.
36. Charles Peale quoted in Cox, "Stephen Bordley," *Protestant Episcopal Church*, 300.
37. Whitefield's "relationship with Franklin grew stronger with every passing year. In the end, Franklin became Whitefield's best American friend, and reciprocally, Whitefield was Franklin's only evangelical friend." Both found common ground in their personalities and their comprehension of the changes sweeping eighteenth-century England, "yet there was also something Franklin found disturbing in Whitefield's humility, for at the heart of Whitefield's actions was the experience of the New Birth—an experience Franklin never felt." One of America's most influential early personalities precipitated a spiritual crisis in the life of another. See Stout, *Divine Dramatist*, 220.
38. Whitefield to Mrs. B—, April 26, 1747; Whitefield to the Honourable J. W— Esq., May 6, 1747; and Whitefield to Mrs. P—, May 6, 1747, in *Works*, 2:91–94.
39. Whitefield to Mrs. B—, May 16, 1747; Whitefield to Rev. Mr. M—, junior, May 9, 1747; and Whitefield to Rev. Mr. J— R—, May 16, 1747, in *Works*, 2:98–100.
40. Whitefield to Rev. Mr. B—, May 21, 1747; Whitefield to Rev. Mr. P—, May 21, 1747, in *Works*, 2:102.
41. For an excellent treatment of Whitefield's innovations in marketing ideas using commercial methods, see Lambert's *Pedlar in Divinity*.
42. Some historians have summed up Awakening theology as simply Calvinism. The Awakeners themselves would have had different opinions on the matter. The Tennents and other Presbyterians would have embraced the term. Whitefield might have accepted it. Jonathan Edwards and others disclaimed "dependence on Calvinism," and "called no man, Father" though they considered the term "exceedingly useful [to] express Complex Ideas." Regardless of labels and minor theological differences, the crux of Calvinistic theology in America and the common ground for all New Lights was the conversion experience, or New Birth. It is this New Birth doctrine which allows historians to identify the geographically disparate revivals of the Awakening into a single, coherent movement. See Alan Heimert and Perry Miller, eds. *The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1967), 123–25.
43. For significant references to "enthusiasm" as an issue in the Awakening in particular, see

Goodwin, "The Anglican Reaction to the Great Awakening," 352–53; Bushman, *Documents on the Revival of Religion,* 20, 63, 120; and Labaree and Willcox, et al., eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin,* 11:345. For a more thorough investigation of the concept of "enthusiasm" in the early modern mind, see David S. Lovejoy, *Religious Enthusiasm in the New World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985) and David S. Lovejoy, ed., *Religious Enthusiasm and the Great Awakening* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

44. Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South* (New York: Athaneum, 1971), 32.

45. Mr. Bacon to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, August 4, 1750; Rev. Mr. Adams, St. Steven's Parish, Somerset County, to the Lord Bishop of London, September 29, 1751, both in William Stevens Perry, *Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Maryland, A.D. 1694–1775* (Hartford, Conn.: Privately printed, 1878), 325, 328.

46. Hall, *Contested Boundaries,* 106. "The Dissenters here were under peculiar Disadvantages for want of a settled Minister . . . and much more . . . in Maryland and Virginia." Samuel Davies in *The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences,* Alan Heimert and Perry Miller, eds. (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1967), 388.

47. Mr. Holt, All Faith Parish, St. Mary's County, Maryland, to Samuel Smith, May 21, 1734, printed in Perry, *Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Maryland,* 317; Mr. Holt, St. Luke's Parish, Queen Anne's County, Chester River, Maryland, to the Bishop of London, May 23, 1735, printed in Perry, 318.

48. The issue of chronology has been a stumbling block for some scholars when studying the Awakening. Rigid chronological boundaries (1739–41) may have caused some to discount Maryland's 1746–47 revival as "post-Awakening." See Cox, "The Great Awakening in Maryland," 9–10. As a movement, the Awakening reached its peak intensity at different times in different geographical regions. From 1734 to 1744 the revival controversy centered in New England and Pennsylvania. (Rutman, *The Great Awakening,* 1; Goodwin, "The Anglican Reaction to the Great Awakening," 343.) As time progressed, the revival moved south, most notably to Virginia around 1750. The Awakening in the South can be divided into three phases: Presbyterian (1745–early 1750s), Baptist (1750s–1765) and Methodist (1765–as late as 1800). The Methodists kept alive the Awakening's focus on preaching and personal piety, but their theology differed from the original Awakeners in its focus on sinless living rather than New Birth conversion as the proof of salvation. This paper focuses on the earliest phase of the Southern Awakening. See Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America,* 272. The most useable chronological delineation of the Awakening as a whole includes the years from the Ulster Immigration of Scots-Irish Presbyterians in 1725 to the distinct ascendancy of Methodism and the rise of Revolutionary politics around 1765. See Marylin J. Westerkamp, *Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening 1625–1760* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 4.

49. Rhys Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia,* 263. This is especially true in the southern colonies. The Awakening in Virginia began when a bricklayer and his friends started reading printed transcripts of Whitefield's sermons, but reading is a highly selective activity depending not only on literacy but also on interest and access. Isaac repeatedly refers to "the possibilities of [Virginia's] oral culture," pointing not only to New Light preachers but also to Patrick Henry, who employed their unique style with unprecedented success in politics. See ibid., 168, 263, 267.

50. Indeed, the evangelical ministers of the Awakening "differed from nearly all other eighteenth-century spokesmen in their recognition of the peculiar potency of the spoken word." Heimert, "Toward the Republic," 137.

51. Throughout this paper, the author has used the phrase "Awakening message" to indicate

the doctrine preached by Awakening evangelists such as Whitefield. The evangelists themselves would have recognized "the New Birth" as shorthand for their message. The prevalence of this term indicates the unity of the message, which is the common factor in the diverse revivals that are together termed the Great Awakening. Bushman notes: "At the heart of the Awakening was the new birth. . . . The disturbances in the churches, the theological controversies in the press, and the spates of social turmoil all followed from the vision of life opened in conversion" (*Documents on the Revival of Religion,* 66, also 131). Hall concurs: "Colonists of divergent beliefs and backgrounds mingled in churches and open fields in a common quest for the New Birth" (*Contested Boundaries,* 109, also 85, 110). Stout observes that "if there was no denomination with a capital letter reflecting its establishment, the New Birth itself assumed capital letters as the institutional and theological embodiment of a new religious movement," (*Divine Dramatist,* 205). Other historians agree: Tracy, *The Great Awakening,* ix; Goodwin, "The Anglican Reaction to the Great Awakening," 368; Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianization of the American People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 183; Vernon L. Parrington, "An Anachronism in the Age of Reason," in Rutman, ed., *The Great Awakening,* 105.

52. Cox, "Great Awakening in Maryland," 40.

53. Cox alludes to this lack of substantial evangelistic itinerations. Cox, "Bordley," 298.

Chattel Slavery at Hampton/ Northampton, Baltimore County

R. KENT LANCASTER

From about 1790 to 1830, the Ridgelys of Hampton owned and presided over one of Maryland's largest African-American slave populations. That group had roots deep into the past and a branch into the distant future. The family's commercial, agricultural and industrial enterprises employed at one time some 340 chattel slaves, who by 1790 had eclipsed white indentured servants as the real source of Ridgely labor. As is to be expected, the preserved records of this slave system are sparse in its early years, but they multiply exponentially as time goes on. They tell us much about the administration of a great body of slaves but disappointingly little of what slave life was all about. In essence, they are the records of slave owning. What follows, however, is an attempt to plumb those sources, whatever their limitations, for what they reveal about slavery at Hampton/ Northampton.[1]

The first of the family for whom we have evidence of slaveowning was Colonel Charles Ridgely (1700–72). Primarily a merchant in Baltimore, Colonel Charles also bought thousands of acres of Maryland, and specifically Baltimore County, land, and developed the Northampton iron works, which was to be a major source of the family's wealth for many decades. Colonel Charles's reputation for the acquisition and development of land has been eclipsed by that of his son, Captain Charles, but he was no mean businessman, having accumulated more than 10,000 acres of land by 1757. The earliest extant record of his slaveowning comes from two accounts for jackets and tools provided for named slaves in 1747–48. No total number of slaves can be found for that time, but it is obvious from the tools ordered—axes—that the group was involved in work they would perform for decades, cutting timber to clear land and as time went on as fuel for the iron works.[2]

By 1760, Colonel Charles had acquired a larger but unknown number of slaves, and in that year he gave ten slaves who are identified by name to his son Charles. The Colonel's will proved in 1772 and the inventory of his property taken in the same year give a much more complete account of his slaves. Those documents show the ownership of some thirty-eight named slaves, who were dispersed among sixteen of his descendants. He directed that much of his landed property be widely

Dr. Lancaster's companion article, "Almost Chattel: The Lives of Indentured Servants at Hampton-Northampton, Baltimore County," appeared in the fall 1999 issue of this journal.

divided in the same way. His son, Charles, however, already owned one-third of the thriving iron works along with lands to support that industry, and he soon bought another third from his brother's estate.[3]

Captain Charles expanded the activities of his father; he was indeed a man of great energy and a major entrepreneur. Having retired from a seafaring life, he carried on the family's commercial activities, developed the Hampton estate, and built Hampton mansion, while personally overseeing the activities of the Northampton furnace and forge. In his early years, labor was predominantly that of white indentured servants, but by his death, and certainly in part because the Revolution had interrupted the supply of such servants, Hampton labor had come to depend most heavily on African American slaves. A 1773 tax list names thirty-four slaves owned by the Captain in Baltimore County; by 1783 he was assessed personally for ninety-nine slaves and the Northampton iron works for thirty-one more. The childless Captain bequeathed some of his slaves to a grandnephew and to his wife for her lifetime, but most came to his principal heir, Charles Ridgely Carnan.[4]

Carnan, a nephew, changed his name to Charles Carnan Ridgely in accord with a stipulation in his uncle's will. More polished and suave than his uncle, Charles C. Ridgely had, nevertheless, that uncle's business acumen and drive and went on to develop fully the uncle's plans for the Hampton/Northampton complex. He took over Hampton mansion and, living the life of a member of the landed gentry, parlayed his talents and personality into positions of eminence, including the governorship of Maryland. He bought back from relatives those final portions of the iron works that had gone to his aunts and their families until he became sole owner. An impressive and lucrative commercial, industrial and agricultural complex, Hampton/Northampton reached its apex during his tenure.[5]

Governor Ridgely already owned slaves when he assumed control of Hampton, and he inherited more from his uncle. Although the documentation as to their origin is not extant today, he also multiplied the number of slaves at Hampton, owning at least 339 at his death in 1829. A family connection, James Howard, wrote,

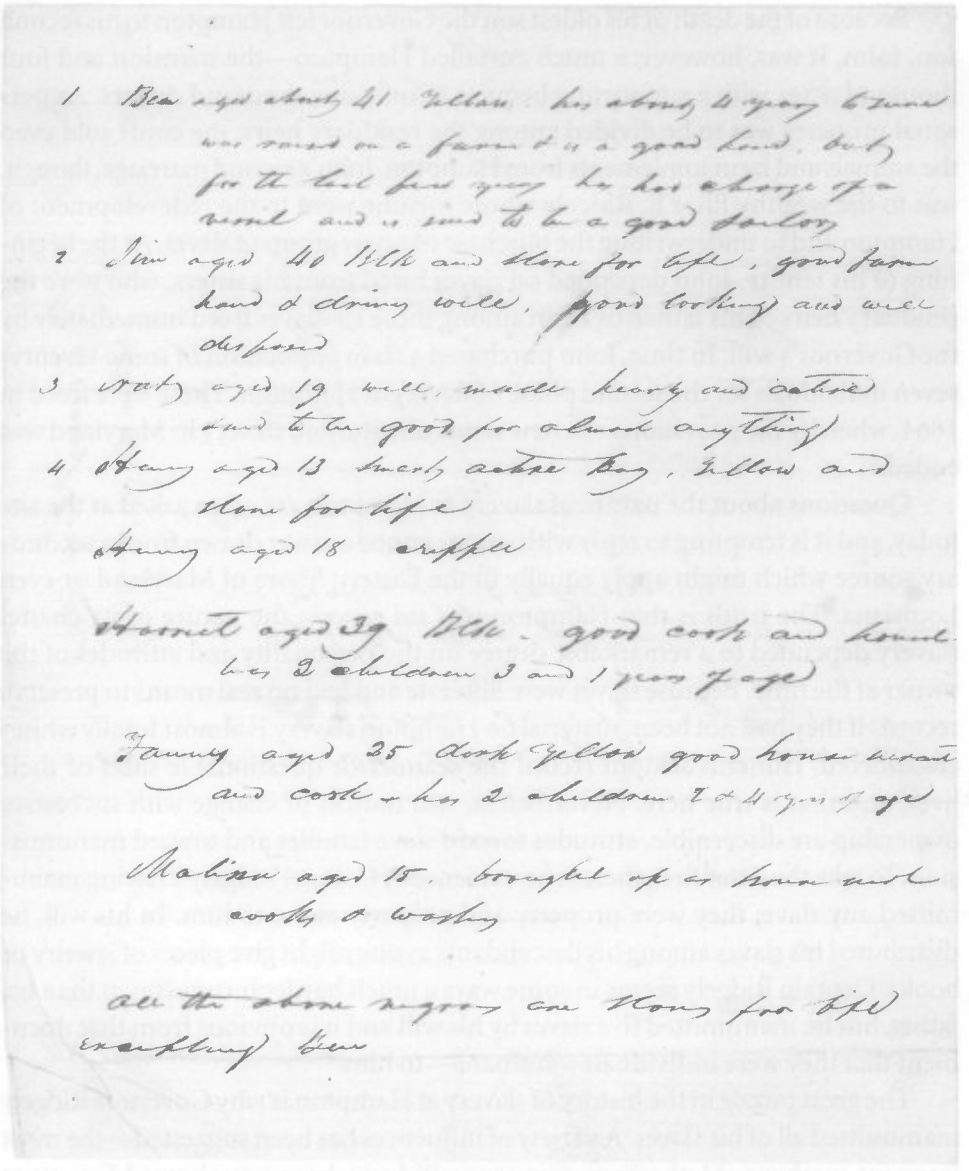
> It has been told me that he owned so many negroes that he did not know them all personally & that more than once when saluted (in the course of his daily rides upon the public roads) by a passing negro he would ask him "boy who do you belong to?" & would sometimes be surprised by the answer, "I belongs to General Ridgely," or "I belongs to you sir."

It is likely that many of these slaves came with purchases of land but the details are obscure. By his will, the Governor manumitted all of his slaves under certain conditions, in sheer numbers alone an astonishing action at the time. Phase one of Hampton slavery ended in 1829.[6]

Because of the death of his oldest son the Governor left Hampton to his second son, John. It was, however, a much curtailed Hampton—the mansion and four thousand acres with a supporting bequest of only one thousand dollars. As personal property was to be divided among the residuary heirs, the court sold even the animals and farm implements from Hampton. John's second marriage, though, was to the wealthy Eliza E. Ridgely whose fortune went to the redevelopment of Hampton and to underwriting the purchase of a new group of slaves. At the beginning of his tenure, John depended on slaves hired from his sisters, who were the residuary heirs of his father, or from among those ex-slaves freed immediately by the Governor's will. In time, John purchased a slave population of some seventy-seven individuals for the second phase of slavery at Hampton. These were freed in 1864, when by the provisions of a new state constitution, slavery in Maryland was ended.[7]

Questions about the nature of slavery at Hampton are often asked at the site today, and it is tempting to reply with some canned answer drawn from a secondary source which might apply equally to the Eastern Shore of Maryland or even Louisiana. The truth is that Hampton was *sui generis;* the nature of its chattel slavery depended to a remarkable degree on the personality and attitudes of the owner at the time. Because slaves were illiterate and had no real means to preserve records if they had not been, material on Hampton slavery is almost totally white-engendered. Humans seldom record the seamier or questionable sides of their lives, and that is true here. Nevertheless, two indices of change with successive ownership are discernible, attitudes toward slave families and toward manumission. To take the latter first, there is no evidence of Colonel Ridgely's having manumitted any slave; they were property and property alone to him. In his will, he distributed his slaves among his descendants as one might give pieces of jewelry or books. Captain Ridgely seems in some ways a much harder businessman than his father, but he manumitted five slaves by his will and it is obvious from that document that they were individuals—humans—to him.[8]

The great puzzle in the history of slavery at Hampton is why Governor Ridgely manumitted all of his slaves. A variety of influences has been suggested—the most frequent, perhaps, Methodism. Governor Ridgely, however, showed few overt signs of interest in that sect. A practicing Episcopalian, he patronized a number of churches, including Episcopal, Unitarian, and Methodist ones, but evidence of real closeness to the Methodists is not forthcoming. Other suggested influences include his wife, who had been dead for fourteen years when he made his will; his sister-in-law and aunt, Mrs. Captain Charles Ridgely, dead for sixteen years and with whom the Governor was often at odds during her lifetime; and finally the fact that a son with whom he never seems to have shared a great deal of respect was succeeding to Hampton. It seems more likely that Ridgely, from a generation that had often questioned the morality of the slave institution and realizing his own



List of "slaves for life" owned by Governor Charles Ridgely. (Maryland Historical Society.)

mortality, simply decided on a last act of altruism. The altruism, at any rate, cost the Governor no single minute of discomfort, because manumission was only effective on his death. Nor did it really cost his estate anything, because no slave was given any economic support in moving into freedom.[9]

Ridgely's manumission in 1829 included immediately only those females between twenty-five and forty-five years and males between twenty-eight and forty-

five. The ceiling was set by state law to stop the practice of manumitting worn out slaves and letting society assume their care. The Governor ordered that slaves older than forty-five were to receive permanent good care. The earliest year of manumission was limited generally by the state to that time when an individual could be self-supporting. Slaves older than forty-five were to be taken care of honorably by the heirs and those under age were to become free when they reached the proper ages. The choice by the Governor of twenty-five years for women and twenty-eight for men indeed seems high in a society where a twelve-year-old could move into adult work. It meant that the Governor's heirs could look forward to a considerable period of labor before the slaves they inherited reached the required ages and were freed.[10]

Those heirs were seven of Ridgely's daughters or their heirs. The will, administered by one of those daughters and her husband, Mary and Charles S. W. Dorsey, took years to resolve. One of the problems, indeed, was the disposition of the younger and older slaves among these residuary heirs. Two of the sons-in-law, George Howard and Henry B. Chew, petitioned the court to have the slaves sold and the proceeds divided among the heirs. The Dorseys petitioned in response, noting among other things that such a sale would glut the market and would have inhumane aspects, and the court honored their petition. The division was accomplished slowly but with apparent care, for equity was obtained in distributing age groups among the legatees and, more important here, great care was exercised in keeping family groups together. At any rate the administration of the Governor's will by the Dorseys was a rather benign piece of work for the time.[11]

There are no signs of interest in manumission in John Ridgely's time except for one instance, the freeing of a male slave whom descendants believe was John's son. This case, however, seems to have been unique. In studying slave clothing lists from John's period, a number of slaves disappear from the records through the years without explanation. It appears though that these individuals were probably escapees. Some of them were apprehended and returned, but strangely even they do not appear on subsequent clothing lists. There is no evidence of slave sale in this period. Henry White (1850–1927), grandson of John and a somewhat nostalgic critic of slavery, wrote in his memoirs that there was no case of splitting families by sales during his grandfather John's time. Nor is there real evidence of brutality. There are, however, constant and consistent hints that his control over slaves was less benevolent than was his father's. While abroad in 1846, John wrote back to his overseer to sell any slave or all slaves who were unruly during his absence. Slavery was a thing of the past by the time John made his will, but there is little to suggest that manumission might ever have been a priority for him.[12]

It has been generally and validly accepted that the Ridgelys were patrons of family life among their African American workers. This was in contrast to the attitude toward white indentured servants for whom family experience was usu-

ally not possible. The indentures, however, were short-timers and slaves were slaves for life. There is no evidence of overt slave breeding; the Ridgelys simply seem to have understood that the family made for stability and some measure at least of satisfaction and thus control. Colonel Ridgely stood as the exception to this rule. His will shows clearly that concerns over family relationships counted for little with him. He bequeathed individuals, irrespective of relationship, to his children and grandchildren with no attempt even to keep mothers and children together. He, in fact, left a number of individual slave children to individual granddaughters.[13]

Succeeding generations of Ridgelys were indeed family-oriented. The care with which Governor Ridgely's slaves were allotted to his heirs has already been noted. More telling perhaps is a shoe list from the 1780s in which virtually each slave is identified by family relationship. Interest in the relationship to the mother is assumed as the slave state passed from mother to child, but this list includes other relationships as well, including husband and wife and siblings. From that list it is possible to reconstruct a number of family groupings. Dum Cate who lived on the adjacent White Marsh plantation is a good example. Listed as deaf and dumb, she was the wife of Alek and the mother of at least three children: Mingoe, aged one, Pegg, three, and Diner, eight. Blacksmith Jack of the furnace was married to Amy; they were the parents of Harry, Lucy, Moses, Nancy, Little Nick, and Phebe, none of whose ages is known. Some of these families can be traced down through several generations. Henry White noted that his grandmother, Eliza E. R. Ridgely, in the next century,

> was very particular in having what she was pleased to describe, (and which I then believed to be) 'marriages' performed by a clergyman, between the negro servants, when so inclined: not realizing—certainly I did not at the time—that slaves were unable to perform any civil act, being mere chattels, consequently those so-called marriages had no more validity in the eyes of the law than if they had taken place between two animals on the place.[14]

Paradoxically, manumission could damage the family severely. The Governor's seemingly altruistic freeing of his slaves demonstrates this clearly. Freeing all the slaves would not have affected this basic institution, but the Governor's pattern of manumission did, although it was dictated in essence if not in each detail by state law. That he was concerned with the unit is shown by his granting mothers the right to take into freedom children under two. He could not, by law, grant these infants freedom, and this may have put them in jeopardy later when proof of manumission was required. They were not free but only with free mothers. There was left, however, the fact that those from two to twenty-five or twenty-eight years

were to be held until they reached those ages and those over forty-five were permanently slaves. The case of Sam and Keziah Anderson illustrates this paradox clearly. At manumission both were freed, and Susan, two, was allowed to go with her mother. Three other children between four and nine years, however, had to be left behind. Perhaps even more damaging was the Batty case. Hetty, forty-one, was freed and little Louise was permitted to go along. Husband George, however, was fifty-four and not ever to be eligible for freedom. Six children were left behind to be freed at intervals over the next twenty-two years. Both the Andersons and the Battys went to single residuary heirs, so remnants of the families at least were preserved together.[15]

Patterns of housing can reflect attitudes toward slave families. Hampton is known today as unusual among early mansions for having three extant slave houses. They were indeed part of a large group of houses or cabins that stretched some quarter of a mile eastward from their present location. The existing houses seem to have been designed for double family use and not as dormitories, but there is, unfortunately, no hard evidence at all to corroborate this. A tax assessment of 1798 cites nine Negro houses on the Hampton property, all of logs and ranging in size from ten by twelve to twenty-two by thirty-two feet and lists nine other log houses that may have been slave quarters. The largest of these was perhaps a barracks for single slaves but the smaller ones were comparable to log houses provided for hired white workers, most of whom were married. The same assessment notes that there were ninety-two slaves at the time at Hampton/ Northampton. The sizes of these houses, in addition to the Ridgely's apparent attitude toward family units, would suggest that the smaller houses were for family occupancy, but again hard evidence is missing.[16]

What do we know of the treatment of slaves under the Ridgelys? The answer in essence is very little. The thousands of records preserved by the family are white-engendered documents and simply do not readily give information about control or treatment. Once a slave owner wrote to ask if he might send his slaves to Hampton to be trained, which suggests, at least, that Ridgely discipline was exemplary to one white owner. There were regular escapes from Hampton throughout the period but whether they were reactions to the slave system in general or reactions to the severity of a single such system is unclear. Escapes increased dramatically with a change in ownership—at a time when the instruments of control seemed weakest. On Governor Ridgely's death, for example, twelve male slaves fled Hampton. All were caught. Ironically several returned to find that they had been freed. But the point is that they took their chances to gain freedom from a weakened system. The very fact of weakness at these key points implies stability of Hampton under normal conditions, partially because of family living patterns but also because of a tight and effective system of control.[17]

Because they have bars, it has been suggested that the cellar of the Hampton

mansion and the nearby Hampton icehouse were used to incarcerate slaves. This, however, is nonsense, as a family with the resources of the Ridgelys would hardly keep miscreants in their own dwelling or immediately in front of the primary entrance where carriages arrived. There was a jail on the property, but a single piece of information about it exists—that its roof was renewed in 1799.[18]

It has also been posited that the slave quarters were positioned well down the hill from the mansion so that the cries of slaves as they were beaten would not be heard. This was probably not a factor in the design of Hampton. Important there was the concept of the site as a picturesque English-style village with the manor house on the hill overlooking a peaceful village below. There were slave beatings. Evidence of one comes from the narrative account of the Ridgelys written by James Howard. In two short stories designed primarily to show the majesty of Governor Ridgely, he tells first of a slave touching his hat to the Governor, who returned the salute in the same way and "was reproached by his companion for his extra courtesy to a negro." Ridgely responded, "Do you think that I'll allow a negro to have better manners than I?" This is followed immediately by a tale of the Governor ordering the overseer to give ten lashes to a delinquent slave whose face remained "sullen and defiant." The Governor, three times then, ordered ten more lashes. Howard concludes, "He knew that as long as the face was defiant & sullen the punishment was doing more harm than good." Howard in some ways violated the code of his class by retelling this story. It is, however, evidence of the nature of control under the seemingly most benign of Hampton owners. The record of beatings is blank otherwise.[19]

No evidence exists that any Ridgely slave was a first generation African American. Some few of their given names may suggest their ultimate origin, Gamboe, Mingo, Subo, Kiah, Quash among them. Some are drawn from the Western classical period—Nero, Venus, Vulcan, Cato, and Caesar (spelled every way but that in the records), for examples, and some are Old Testament in origin, Moses, Abraham, Jacob. Most, however, are of English or Christian origin, if the two can be separated. Jim, Tony, Cate, Dick, and Susan were popular. It is obvious that the slaves whom the Ridgelys purchased had acquired their given names before they came to Hampton and that most were probably second generation Americans at the time of purchase. As time went by, the popular names can be traced as styles change by generation. Every master of Hampton from 1750 was a Charles or a John, but significantly neither name was popular among the slaves. There is, in fact, no evidence that the Ridgelys influenced slave names at all.[20]

One of the problems in tracking Ridgely slaves, in determining their family relationships and in tracing them forward, is something that also threw into relief their servile status—the emphasis in the records on given names alone. These are often supplemented by descriptive and identifying words such as Big Bett, Yellow Harry, Tom Smith (not of the Smith family, but a blacksmith.) Surnames are

almost unrecorded except in rare and special instances. One of these was the freedom certificate that had to be filled out for manumitted slaves in 1829–30 and in which surnames were expected. Another appears in the list of shoes given out to family, servants, and slaves from 1810 to 1828. After years of identification by given names alone, that document suddenly shifts in June 1827 to the use of surnames for no apparent reason, providing for the first time last names for the bulk of Ridgely slaves. These two documents help in identifying slaves for the first time, although it is still difficult to reconcile those surnames with earlier lists because of the heavy use of certain given names among the population. Unfortunately the practice of using surnames was not maintained; the bulk of the slave documents from John's time revert to sole use of given names and the obscuring of identities resulting therefrom. There is nothing on any occasion to suggest that the Ridgelys or their agents supplied surnames for slaves; this leaves open the question as to how and when they acquired them. Interestingly, no slave has been found to have used the Ridgely name, although some slaves did have the names of landowners in the area, Howard and Sheredine, for examples.[21]

The Ridgely slaves seem to have had constant and close medical care, although it is not clear whether this care emanated from concern with humans or with property or both. Always over the decades a doctor was kept on contract, usually to treat both the Ridgely family and the servile population. Treatment was perhaps poor by today's standards, but the same treatments were utilized for both races. Dr. Charles Weisenthal in the 1780s was typical of the itinerant doctor of the time; he would visit, perform his office, and then often stay overnight. In the next century, Ridgely cousins, the doctors Pue, were under contract. Midwives were in attendance for family as well as slave births, usually drawn from among the older slaves, but on occasion a white woman from outside was brought in. The records of the time often reflect medical conditions, which obviously affected the value of slaves. Rupture was a common complaint among men during the time as was "pains in the neess." One slave "lost senses by smallpox." Normally only those conditions or complaints that affected the work or the natural increase of the group are noted. At any rate the Ridgelys protected their investments by keeping the slaves healthy.[22]

Of 122 slaves listed on the clothing list of 1782–87, ten died during those years at an average age of forty-two. The Hampton population was indeed both a young one and an old one. Ages are available for 292 of the 339 slaves owned by Governor Ridgely at his death in 1829. The mean age of those 292 was only 23.3 years (median 18). In a period of enormous infant mortality and with a tradition that slave systems did not reproduce themselves, it is surprising to find that 18 percent of Ridgely slaves were under four years and 31 percent under ten. These figures approximate those for Baltimore County in general and other slave populations in the county but differ markedly from Baltimore City where only 21.8 percent of the

Eliza E. R. Ridgely (1803–67) provided church services for Hampton slaves in the carriage house attic. (Hampton National Historic Site.)

slave population was under ten years. The reason for the latter differential was perhaps that rural life was exempted from some of the health scourges of the city.[23]

Hampton also had more older slaves (above fifty-five) than the norm: 7.8 percent in contrast to 4.5 percent and 3.8 percent for the county and city, respectively. This suggests that the Ridgelys supported a larger group of slaves who were legally dependent and perhaps non-productive than was usual and again suggests stability of the community. It should be no surprise that the value of slaves declined sharply with old age, but it is rather shocking to discover that what seems to be a listing of all slaves in the inventory taken of his property that the older slaves were simply not listed. Non-productive, they had no value and thus no place in an inventory of property. It is only from the documents dividing them among residuary heirs that aged slaves emerge into the record. Significant, too, is the differential between the values of male and female slaves. Males were considered more valuable at every age. Males, for example, have nominal value for fifteen years after females are considered valueless.

No information exists as to how Hampton slaves met their religious needs until well into the nineteenth century. Even then, filtered through white perceptions, the information we have may say more about white attitudes than slave realities. Eliza E. R. Ridgely made a concerted attempt to address religion for the slaves, but it is, for the most part, from a somewhat patronizing position, the nineteenth-century Christian missionary stance. She provided church services in

the attic of the Hampton carriage house under the direction of a white minister, Mr. Galbraith, until it was discovered that that individual had married a woman suspected of having African blood, at which point he was dismissed. Mrs. Ridgely oversaw funerals and weddings in the great hall of the mansion and her young daughter, Eliza or 'Didy,' records with satisfaction having taught a group of slave children the Lord's Prayer. One surprising act from the very Protestant Ridgelys was paying for the casket and grave plot in a downtown Catholic cemetery for George Jackson, the child of a slave, Lucy Jackson. This action was especially noteworthy because Hampton had its own black burial ground. James Howard later described rather condescendingly several events at Hampton, in one of which Nick Toogood, a Hampton black, sat passive through his wife's bout of cramp colic and explained "'thought Jehovah had her' . . . yells and groans being quite the mode of expressing this change of spiritual condition among the negroes at that day." In another of Howard's accounts of Hampton life, the same Toogood, a swineherd by vocation, led a "funeral procession from the 'quarter' to the burial ground singing hymns. The hogs hearing the familiar voice that called them to eat each day joined the procession." Again, what we know of Hampton slave religion comes from the perspective of white practices filtering down. Anything else was considered quaint and amusing.[24]

Considerable effort was expended to make sure that the Hampton slaves were clothed and shod. Shoes were made on the place by resident shoemakers and were of a number of grades depending both on workmanship and type of leather used. Slaves could usually expect the lowest grades—known generally as "slave shoes" and were shared for a time with indentured servants. House slaves might get a better grade if they were in public view. There are sometimes extraordinary gifts of fancier shoes to slaves, and it is obvious that they were one of the indicators of status. Early on there was probably no attempt at sizing, but by the nineteenth century shoes were made for individuals. A long shoe list reaching from 1810 to 1828, and noteworthy as an early census of Hampton slaves, covers both the making and repairing of shoes. From it, it is possible to determine who among the population wore out shoes most often, which could perhaps refine our perceptions of slave labor. The resident shoemaker, sometimes a white, sometimes a slave who had learned the skill, was a necessary cog in the successful running of the estate. The Hampton slaves seem to have been well, if not fashionably, shod.[25]

Clothing the slaves was as important as shoeing them, and, with a population that reached about 340 at one time, was obviously a major enterprise. Much of this work is a matter of record, but it is obvious that much more planning went on behind the scenes. In the nineteenth century the lady of the house was often in charge of clothing the servants. Eliza E. R. Ridgely, who has been portrayed heretofore as the aristocratic beauty playing her harp and entertaining graciously, had also a serious business side. Daughter of a merchant and married into a family

who recorded every transaction however trivial, Eliza kept careful accounts of all her expenditures down to nine and one-half cents for a piece of ribbon. Partially personal, these accounts are also evidence of her office as overseer of slave clothing. The very first page of her account of 1838–46 shows both her care with money and her official office on the site buying cloth and shoes for the servants:

2 pieces fine cotton/35 yds....13	9.12 1/2
1 do do unbleached 31 1/2 yds ll 1/2	3.62 1/2
1 do course do 33 3/4 yds 11	3.72
1/2 lb. fine yarn	1.12
2 1/2 oz col'd worsted	1.25
1 1/2 yds velvet ribbon	.75
1 yd linen cambrick	2.25
pd Mrs. Browne's bill	4.37 1/2
for sewing, silk 25, mending shoe 12 1/2	.37 1/2
for lynx muff	14.00
pd Miss Dorsy's bill for 3 bonnets & box	20.50
pd for 1 pr shoes for J Trip & 1 pr Mark	3.00
1 piece vegetable soap	.37 ½
7 pair of Stockings for Eliza	2.56 1/4
Silver card case	14.00
For framing 2 small pictures	3.50
43 yds of olive calico for servants	5.37 ½
for 2 small colored pictures	.75
Amount carried forward	91.65 1/4[26]

A survey of clothing given out in five-year periods from 1782–86 and from 1842–46 shows few changes in types of apparel allotted, but an increase in numbers of garments.

Clothing was provided twice a year, in late spring and in early winter. Excellent records exist, both from the 1780s and from the mid-nineteenth century, about these allotments. Slaves were listed by names, so it is possible to trace slave clothing through a number of years. Slave Demboe, aged thirty-five in 1782, for example, got seven pairs of trousers, nine shirts and five pairs of stockings over five years; Bill Davis, thirty-seven in 1842, was given fifteen shirts, fourteen pairs of trousers and eight pairs of stockings between 1842 and 1846. Dum Cate, thirty-five, was provided with nine petticoats, eight shifts, three pairs of stockings but no dresses in the earlier period, while Pegg Humphrey, thirty-six, got ten shifts, fifteen frocks, thirteen aprons, and twelve pairs of stockings but no petticoats from 1842 to 1846. Additional items handed out irregularly in both periods included hats, shawls, jackets, etc. The passing years brought an increase in the number of clothes

each slave was given, but in a climate with extremes at both ends of the thermometer, three dresses or three shirts a year were unlikely to lead to any accumulation of clothing. Slave clothing was at best very near the line of inadequacy.[27]

Only in the latter period can farm or forge and house slaves be separated. There was then a marked difference in their clothing. Certainly those servants likely to be in public view in the house were better clad. Mark and Nathan, who served as butlers in mid-nineteenth century, were even provided with green livery, and both received worn items from the master. Lest used clothing be considered unimportant, it should be noted that at his death, Governor Ridgely's clothing was divided meticulously among his sons-in-law who were men of considerable wealth and standing.[28]

For the earlier period, clothing was essentially the same as that provided to indentured servants. Later there was more variety, and sometimes references as to colors or pattern were noted in the records. Men frequently got blue and white striped trousers and women had checked or plaid cottons. Occasionally hints are given as to the comparative size of slave women in the number of yards allotted for their dresses. In both periods the tailor in some guise or other was important. Sometimes cutting was performed off the site and sewing farmed out among wives of employees or servants at Hampton, but usually both functions fell to one hired individual. At any rate, in the latter period at least, the mistress of Hampton knew where to get material, how much to get, and how to have it processed for a sizeable community. This was no mean task.

What then was the nature of slavery at Hampton? It must be remembered that virtually everything we know came from whites and reflects their perspectives. This alone should make us treat the evidence gingerly. There is another voice, unrecorded so far, from a different perspective. We know nothing, for example, of life in the quarters. Did the slaves strum banjoes of an evening and sing spirituals, or were they too worn out to do much more than eat and go to bed? Was there happiness or chronic discontent, and if the latter did it reflect a general slave attitude? Hopes for freedom were totally impractical for many slaves until the Governor's manumission and general emancipation thirty-five years later. An occasional escapee made it to freedom, the number rises sharply after mid-nineteenth century. But escape was into an increasingly hostile environment where nothing—food, raiment, or shoes—was provided. Escape was really not an option for most slaves until the very end. But did that kill the desire for freedom?

The biographies of two Hampton slave women, Nancy Davis and Lucy Jackson, may suggest the range of attitudes among slaves and ex-slaves. Nancy has emerged as the model slave to most whites, a strong personality, and favored for that, but loyal to death. Nancy came to Hampton from the adjacent Cowpens property with Margaretta Howard when she married John and Eliza E. R. Ridgely's son and heir, still another Charles (b. 1830). She married a Hampton slave and

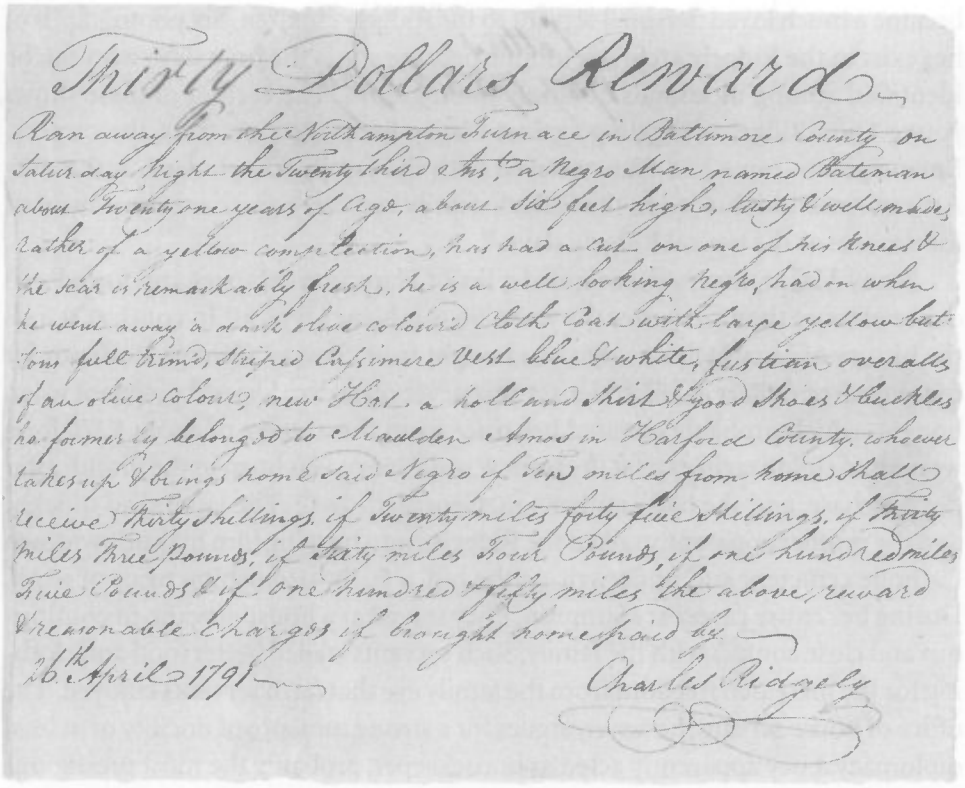
Nancy Davis (c.1838–1908) came to Hampton with Margaretta Howard in 1851 and worked as a personal servant of the Ridgely children. (Hampton National Historic Site.)

became a much loved personal servant to the Ridgely children. Six photographs of her exist in the Ridgely archives, unique because she is the only slave who can be identified among thousands of family photographs. The earliest of these shows young Didy Ridgely snuggling against Nancy for protection from the camera. Emancipation came and Nancy stayed with the family. She, indeed, is the only African American buried in the Ridgely family cemetery and has been advanced for decades as the typical Ridgely slave.[29]

Jenny Masur, however, compiled a list of Hampton escapees and found evidence of more than sixty over the years. So was Nancy typical? In contrast stands the history of Lucy Jackson, who was bought from Samuel Owings Hoffman for four hundred dollars in 1838. Her age was never recorded. She was pregnant when bought, which probably elevated her price from the average of about $270 for a woman of childbearing age at the time. A son, Henry, was born in the month after her purchase, and she had another son, George, in 1842. The latter died quickly, and the mother apparently talked the Ridgelys into burying him in the downtown Catholic cemetery and underwriting the bill, a fairly astonishing piece of work. During her entire career at Hampton, Lucy served as a house servant, in continuous and close contact with the family. Such servants traded better food and clothing for the increased freedom from the family eye that farm servants enjoyed. The office of house servant, however, argues for a strong measure of docility or at least diplomacy. Lucy apparently acted as housekeeper, probably the most prestigious position among those slaves. We can trace semi-annual grants of clothing and shoes to her and Henry, but there is little to separate Nancy or Lucy from other employees in these years. Young 'Didy' Ridgely brought home a "three bright color comfort" for Henry when she attended school in Baltimore in 1841, and he is included in the yearly Christmas presents from the Ridgelys during his childhood as were dozens of others.[30]

Henry apparently fled in 1861 when he was about twenty-three. That perhaps emboldened his mother, because Lucy herself is missing from the semi-annual clothing lists after May 1862, well before the 1864 Maryland emancipation. She did not return but instead, in 1866, engaged a Washington lawyer to write the Ridgelys demanding the despatch of property she claimed to have left behind. The letter reveals a new side of Lucy for it claims that the property was given her by "her free Husband." The unique listing of the items includes twenty-one dresses, including six of silk, six pairs of "White Lace Sleeves," and "furrs & muff." Whatever the validity of the claims in the letter, it nonetheless throws into relief a Lucy very far from being the traditional white perception of the docile and apparently contented slave. With better chances for successful flight than most, she, certainly, personified the discontent and desire for freedom that was typical of many slaves.[31]

In sum, the Ridgelys provided the material necessities of life for their slave population. They were, however, participants in and perpetuators of an indefen-



Thirty Dollars Reward

Ran away from the Northampton Furnace in Baltimore County on Saturday Night the Twenty third inst. a Negro Man named Bateman about Twenty one years of Age, about Six feet high, lusty & well made, rather of a yellow complection, has had a cut on one of his Knees & the scar is remarkably fresh, he is a well looking negro, had on when he went away a dark olive coloured Cloth Coat with Large yellow but-tons full trimmed, Striped Cassimere Vest blue & white, fustian overalls of an olive colour, new Hat, a holland shirt & good Shoes & Buckles he formerly belonged to Nicodemus Amos in Harford County, whoever takes up & brings home said Negro if Ten miles from home shall receive Thirty shillings, if Twenty miles forty five shillings, if Thirty miles Three Pounds, if Sixty miles Four Pounds, if one hundred miles Five Pounds & if one hundred & fifty miles the above reward & reasonable Charges if brought home paid by

26th April 1791

Charles Ridgely

Eighteenth-century runaway slave notice posted by Colonel Charles Ridgely. (Maryland Historical Society.)

sible system of the enslavement and complete domination of fellow humans. As owners there were among the masters of Hampton men who were talented and admirable in many respects, but except for the Governor none seems to have sensed the awfulness of what they perpetuated. Even he denied himself nothing by manumission, and he kept many in servitude long after they were able to support themselves. Hundreds of slave lives depended on the whim of an individual. Henry White wrote that the system injured whites as well as blacks, and it is clear that he meant injury by being tied to something indefensible as well as the great waste of time and energy consumed in fear and in assuaging guilt. He notes that his grandmother, Eliza E. R. Ridgely, in her declining years lived in mortal dread of slave insurrection and violence. A woman of great capabilities, sensitivity, and talent, she was consumed by fear of what she and her husband had produced—the very group who made the lifestyle she had chosen possible. There is no measuring conscience, but it is likely that a good part of Eliza's disturbance was the result of hers.[32]

NOTES

1. I have cited almost no secondary material here. My intention has been that this essay be a record of what is known about slavery at Hampton without the constant intrusion of comparisons with or borrowings from other systems. To some extent such comparisons have already corrupted interpretations of Hampton too much before we really understand Hampton itself. It simply has been too easy to read something on slavery in Mississippi and to posit the same conditions here. James Loewen has done just that in his *Lies Across America, What our Historic Sites Get Wrong* (New York: New Press, 1999). In a critical and unruly chapter on Hampton he perpetuates the tendency to bring in external "evidence" and broad generalizations to tell the story of a specific site. He is happy to quote "Old Elizabeth" on a severe beating without suggesting why he thinks she "may have been owned by the Ridgelys." He also suggests borrowing Mississippi evidence that slaves used mussel shells for spoons and borrowing shackles and chains from the Maryland Historical Society to tell the Hampton story. These are the very things I have tried to avoid here. Comparisons can come later when we do understand the history of life at the site. Goucher intern Marilyn Davis has worked three semesters tracing into freedom the slaves who were freed in 1829. It is to be hoped that the Hampton administration will soon undertake a program to trace descendants of the slaves who lived there and to record their family traditions. See Jenny Masur and Kent Lancaster, "Interpreting Slavery at Hampton, NPS," in National Park Service's *Cultural Resource Management*, 20 (No. 2, 1997): 10–12. On indentures, see R. Kent Lancaster "Almost Chattel: The Lives of Indentured Servants at Hampton/Northampton," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 94 (1999): 341–63. I am deeply indebted to Lynne Dakin Hastings, Hampton's curator, who has shared her knowledge of Hampton with me for a decade, and to Jenny Masur, former chief of interpretation at Hampton for several years of discussion about Hampton slaves. Her position as an anthropologist led me into new perspectives on Hampton. Bill Curtis, of the Interpretation Division, has also been a great help.

2. "Daybook 1746–47, December 1747," box 2, MS. 691, Ridgely Papers, and box 13, MS. 692, Ridgely Papers, Maryland Historical Society (hereafter MdHS).

3. "Indenture of Nov. 1, 1760," from a private collection; "Inventory, Col. Charles Ridgely, 1772," Baltimore County Register of Wills (Inventories, Original) MSA C 342 box 33, folder 50, Maryland State Archives, hereafter MSA; "Will of Charles Ridgely 1772," Baltimore County Register of Wills (Wills) MSA C 435, WB#3, ff. 187 ff., MSA.

4. Lancaster, "Almost Chattel," passim.; Henry C. Peden, *Inhabitants of Baltimore County, 1766–84* (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1989), 53, 64, 79; "Assessment by Nicholas Merryman, March 1783, box 1, MS. 1127, Ridgely Papers, MdHS; "Will of Capt. Charles Ridgely, dated 1786, proved 1790," Baltimore County Register of Wills (Wills), MSA C 435 #4, ff. 450-81, MSA.

5. I refer to Charles C. Ridgely throughout as Governor although he held that office only from 1815 to 1818. He is remembered as "Governor," and this is an easy way to distinguish him from a half dozen others of the same name.

6. "Probate Record for Charles C. Ridgely, 1829–32," Reel 19, Special Collections, G. Howard White Papers, MSA SC 1898, MSA; and James Howard, "Account of the Ridgely Family," p. 3, undated typescript in Hampton files. Howard was a son by his second wife of a son-in-law of the Governor and spent much time at Hampton. His sister was mistress of Hampton following the Civil War. He was born years after the death of Governor Ridgely, and, having served in the Confederate army, he

fled to Canada for a time at the war's end. His account of the family sometimes borders on the fanciful.

7. On hiring, see boxes 31–33, MS. 691, Ridgely Family Papers, MdHS, for example "Ledger of Wages 1836-70," box 32; on Eliza's contributions, see "Eliza E. R. Ridgely's Account with John Ridgely & Arch'd Stirling," box 13, Ridgely Family Papers, MS 692, MdHS; on purchases see "John Ridgely Memo Book 1830-51," box 32, MS 691, MdHS.

8. "Will of Charles Ridgely, 1772," MSA; and "Will of Capt. Charles Ridgely, 1790," MSA.

9. "Probate Record for Charles C. Ridgely," 1829–32.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.; one daughter, Mrs. Hanson, was in marital straits and was provided for in the body of the will; manumission was provided for in a codicil.

12. Henry White, "Memoirs," n.d., p. 11, typescript in Hampton files; White grew up at Hampton and went on to gain national stature as ambassador to Italy and then France. Mrs. Genevieve Mason kindly shared family papers with Hampton. For a much garbled version of John's manumission, see Sharon C. Hare, "Memories Grim and Bright," *Catholic Review*, June 4, 1997; on disappearances, see for example, slave clothing lists for October and November 1844, in John Ridgely, "Memo Book 1830–51," box 32, MS. 691, MdHS. For authorization to attorney to sell, see "Affidavit of John Ridgely, 1846," M 4439, box 12, MS. 692, MdHS.

13. Will of Charles Ridgely, 1772, MSA.

14. "Negroes Cloathing 1782-87," Special Collections, G. Howard White Papers, MSA SC 1898, passim.; Henry White, "Memoirs," p. 11.

15. Information here is gathered from "Probate Record of Charles C. Ridgely, 1829–32," and from the division of slaves among the residuary heirs recorded in an untitled and undated document in Accession 183, Hamp 22809, Gene White Papers, Hampton National Historical Site.

16. George J. Horvath, Jr., *The Particular Assessment Lists for Baltimore and Carroll Counties* (Silver Spring, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1986), 38.

17. Letter from Rezin Hammond to Charles Ridgely, February 2, 1794, MS. 692, MdHS, and probate record of Charles Ridgely, 1829-32

18. "Journal 1796–99," February 1799, n.p., box 5, MS 691, MdHS.

19. Howard, "Memoirs of the Ridgely Family," n.p.

20. Loewen, *Lies*, 344, notes owners giving slaves "demeaning names," citing among examples Hercules, Caesar, and Sucky. On the first two, he has overlooked the classical revival and nineteenth-century white names, for examples, Lucius Quintas Cincinnatus Lamar, U.S. Supreme Court Justice, and Ulysses S. Grant; on Sucky he erred on pronunciation. It was indeed diminutive for Susan, pronounced with the same "u," and often spelled "Sookey."

21. See "Account of Shoes Given Out," White Papers, MS. 1898, MSA, M 4682; and Register, "Certificates of Freedom 1804–30," Baltimore County Register of Wills (Certificates of Freedom), MSA SC 289, passim, MSA.

22. On Weisenthal, see Lancaster, op. cit., 347; "Account of Shoes Given Out," Special Collections, G. Howard White Papers, MSA SC 1898, MSA .

23. "Negroes Cloathing, 1782–87," Special Collections, G. Howard White Papers, MSA SA 1898, MSA; "Probate Record for Charles C. Ridgely, 1829–32"; and Hampton Accession 183, untitled document (Division of Slaves Among Residuary Heirs).

24. "Didy Ridgely's Diary, 1841–42," Hamp 3911, Hampton Archives; Henry White, "Memoirs," 9–11; James Howard, "Account," 5, 7, 10, in supplement on servants; "Ridgelys of Hampton Miscellaneous Papers," box 12, M 4439, Ridgely Papers, MdHS; and "Burial Records,"

Cathedral of the Assumption, vol. 3, 1837–41. I am indebted to Jenny Masur for the last reference.

25. See Lancaster, op. cit., 349–53, on shoes and clothing for indentured servants who shared with slaves the same grades of clothing and shoes; and "Account of Shoes Given Out."

26. Eliza E. R. Ridgely "Account Book, 1838–46," box 30, MS 691, MdHS; and Eliza E. R. Ridgely "Account Book, 1845–60," Hamp 16583, Hampton National Historical Site.

27. "Negroes Cloathing, 1782–87"; Eliza E. R. Ridgely, "Account Book, 1838–46"; Eliza E. R. Ridgely, "Servants Clothing Book, 1835–54," passim.; John and Eliza Ridgely, "Farm Account Book, 1850–64," box 31, MS. 691, Ridgely Papers, MdHS; and R. Kent Lancaster, "Clothing the Hampton Slaves, 1835-64," Verticle File, Hampton National Historic Site.

28. Eliza E. R. Ridgely "Servants Clothing Book, 1835–54," passim.; and "Probate Account for Charles C. Ridgely, 1829–32."

29. Nancy's tombstone in the Ridgely cemetery notes that she died in 1908 around seventy years old. See Howard, "Account of Ridgely Family"; for the photograph see Hamp 19799 in the Hampton archives.

30. See R. Kent Lancaster and Jenny Masur, "Lucy Jackson," 16–20, Agnes Callum, ed., *Flower of the Forest Black Genealogical Journal* (Baltimore: The Editor, 1997); "Didy Ridgely's Diary, 1841–42," November 12, 1841, box 12, Ridgely Papers, MS. 691, MdHS; "Ridgely Miscellaneous," box 12, MS. 692, Ridgely Papers, MdHS; and "Burial Records," Cathedral of the Assumption. Escape is too large a subject to be treated here, but for some idea of its extent, see the entries from May 6–15, 1863, in "John Ridgely Memorandum Book, 1852–71," box 33, MS. 691, MdHS, where rewards are paid for "arresting Negroes," keeping and transporting them, and for three pairs of handcuffs.

31. See clothing records in "John and Eliza Ridgely, Farm Account Book, 1850–64," box 31, MS. 691, MdHS, and "William Boyd to John Ridgely," box 3, Ridgely Papers, MS. 1127, MdHS. John had already been queried about Lucy's belongings after she appealed to the War Department. He responded that her things had been divided among themselves by her fellow slaves when she left. He noted that although he knew where she lived he had not pursued her when she fled. See "Lucy Jackson Papers," MS. 2891, Ridgely Family Papers Supplement, MdHS.

32. Henry White, "Memoirs," 11.

One Step Closer to Democracy: African American Voting in Late Nineteenth-Century Cambridge

C. CHRISTOPHER BROWN

A milestone in black history in Maryland arrived in 1882 when the Dorchester County port town of Cambridge, having recently changed its method of electing town commissioners from an at-large to a single-member district system, created a nearly all-black ward, resulting in the election of the first African-American public official on the Eastern Shore. Only in Annapolis, the state capital, had a black person previously won public office in Maryland. In a historic June election, the voters of Cambridge's second ward elected as their commissioner forty-two-year-old Joseph I. Collins, a mulatto Republican who operated a "refreshment saloon" and resided on Pine Street.[1]

The procedures for voting in this small town's elections were refreshingly straightforward. Inasmuch as everyone knew practically everyone else, no registration was required. Balloting was not secret. To participate, male citizens who had resided in the ward for sixty days needed only to walk to the polling place on election day between noon and 2:00 P.M. and cast a vote.

The crucial change in 1882 brought five wards into existence. The voters of each elected a resident of their ward to be its representative. The black voters constituting 90 percent of the male residents of the second ward were easily able to elect one of their own to the town's governing body. Under the previous at-large system, which was still the norm on the Shore, the white majority always outnumbered the black minority and elected white commissioners.[2]

The momentous nature of the event apparently went unrecognized, at least in the white community. The *Cambridge Democrat & News* merely announced that "Jos. I. Collins (colored)" was among the town's five newly elected commissioners.[3] In the groundbreaking election Collins had easily defeated John Driver, a High Street engineer, eighty-seven to two. Collins went on to serve two more two-year terms before retiring in 1888. After defeating in 1884 another High Street neighbor, Benjamin Jenifer, a colored-school teacher and son of an influential minister, Collins gained office in 1886 without opposition.[4]

To the outsider the Eastern Shore in the latter decades of the nineteenth cen-

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tury was an idyllic pasture land. As one *Baltimore Sun* reporter remarked in 1880, it was "that region of primitive ways and unadulterated good living, where the watermelon and sweet potato succeeded the soft crab as the soft crab succeeded the oyster and the terrapin, the canvas-back and the quail." On closer inspection, the Shore suffered from nearly static population growth and a sluggish economy. In the 1880s, for example, its population grew by only 4 percent, well behind the state's modest 11 percent growth for this decade. Furthermore, the Shore's stagnant postwar economy left prices 20 percent lower in 1884 than they had been in 1860.[5]

Cambridge, however, was the Eastern Shore's closest thing to a boomtown. Although in 1870 it had lagged well behind Easton, Salisbury, and Chestertown, then the Shore's largest towns, by 1890 it had rushed past all of them to stake its claim as the region's largest municipality. Its 1890 population of 4,192—a third of whom were African Americans—represented a 155 percent growth over its 1870 status. Most of this spurt came in the 1880s, during which decade it grew by nearly two thousand persons.[6]

In 1880, after the United States Army Corps of Engineers had deepened its harbor, the county seat of "Old Dorset" boasted the Shore's most significant heavy industry: a complex of three shipyards and two railway lines that combined to facilitate the construction of sloops and schooners, tugs and barges, just in time to accommodate the "boom" taking place in the oyster industry. The ship fitting industry was enhanced by the abundant fine oak and pine timber that covered the shoreline and offshore islands. Not only did these lower Shore forests provide lumber for the Cambridge shipyards, local foresters also shipped their produce north to New England ship builders. Around these activities a vibrant community of blacksmith shops, sail lofts, shipwrights, joiners, riggers, and blacksmiths developed. Workers could gain from $1.25 to $2.00 a day, with those most in demand able to earn $2.50 for a day's labor, far better than contemporary farm-worker wages. One shipyard employed a hundred men and specialized in building barges used to carry coal out of Pennsylvania's Lehigh Valley to the factories of New England.[7]

As Cambridge grew in the 1880s, blacks flocked to the new job opportunities in its shipyards. The colored quarter had by 1880 changed from an "uncultivated waste" during the war years to one with many suitable homes, about half of which were owner-occupied. Black men now worked as blacksmiths, carpenters, wheelwrights, caulkers, and bricklayers. A visiting observer from the *Baltimore Sun* commended them for being "industrious and prosperous." He reported that they had come into the state of freedom "endowed with the habits of labor," and had since steadily improved their condition. The newsman visited one "prosperous" black man, David Wing, who owned "a considerable place" on High Street with a brickyard and kiln in operation. The journalist also observed a "little harbor thick with masts, and on all sides the click of caulkers' tools may be heard." He noted that

"it is one of the distinguishing features of Cambridge shipyards that blacks and whites work side by side in every department, where they exhibit equal skill and capacity."[8]

The opportunities then presented to African Americans in Cambridge were unique to the Eastern Shore. As a consequence of their exclusion from the democratic process, blacks elsewhere found few opportunities to develop political proficiency. Nearly a century was to pass before they first gained opportunities for election to public office. The creation of the single-member district in Cambridge in 1882, however, produced a far different political arena, one closer in many respects to those democratic ideals voiced in our Declaration of Independence.

Prior to the Civil War Cambridge had produced an impressive class of religious and civic leaders, but with no vote and complete exclusion from the official political party system they by necessity turned their energies toward alternative forums such as church affairs and promotion of emigration to Africa. Law and custom forbade their involvement in matters of public government.[9]

The Fifteenth Amendment's extension of the vote to blacks in 1870 gave Cambridge African Americans some role to play in the political system. Comprising about five of every six Republican voters in the county, they forced the white leadership to grant them some say, at least in internal party affairs.[10] This led to a Republican custom of appointing a black man as a token member of the Dorchester County State Central Committee, the local party's governing entity. James W. Derry, the first and longtime recipient of this honor, as well as the town's leading barber, served from 1871 to 1888. His access to the Republican Party gave Derry political clout in the county's black community, for it was through Derry that the newly enfranchised black citizen might attain some benefits of life in a democracy.[11]

Nevertheless, not until the creation of the black majority district did Cambridge African Americans enjoy a palpable chance at governance. No longer could their political aspirations be thwarted by the white majority vote. No longer need they merely sit on the sidelines with politics as an academic exercise. They could now wade into the fray with an actual prize in the offing.

James Derry found himself out of place in this new milieu. Because he did not live in the second ward, he could only promote his surrogates for election to the commission. Moreover, his primary strength—his white Republican contacts—were of little help in an election totally operated and controlled by black men.[12]

Into this void stepped the next generation of Dorchester County black leadership. Cyrus St. Clair, a prosperous butcher, and Benjamin Jenifer Sr. had been the town's leaders throughout the middle years of the century. Now their sons were poised to carry on. Compared to the Derry faction, this new St. Clair/Jenifer political organization comprised younger, educated, and more economically independent activists. They also were closely involved with both the town's colored schools and the Waugh Methodist Episcopal Church, which was located next to

what was then Jenifer Hall. With black citizens now better able to control their own political destiny, political activity proceeded at a far more sophisticated level.[13]

The 1888 second ward commissioner's race demonstrated state-of-the-art, wide-open American politics. Joseph Collins, the three-term incumbent and only black public official that the Shore had known, announced his intention to retire. This declaration promptly set off political speculation as to who would replace the respected restaurant owner. Factions formed, outsiders tried to intervene, arms were twisted, and Cambridge and the Shore gave birth to their first black political dynasty.

Initial discussion centered upon Charles H. Kerr, a High Street barber, and John Driver, whom Collins had beaten in 1882. Soon, however, the name of Edward St. Clair, a colored-school teacher, circulated as a likely candidate. His older brother, thirty-nine-year-old Cyrus Jr., worked with his father at the family butchery. Learning the ropes at this time was the youngest St. Clair son, "Maynie," then just twenty years of age. They all lived close to one another on High Street.[14]

An account printed just after the election in one of the local Democratic weeklies, the *Cambridge Democrat & News,* well captured the flavor of the spirited 1888 contest:

> In the second ward a heated contest took place, the history of which is worth laying before our readers. The voters of this ward are nearly all colored men, there being only four or five white voters in it. Some two weeks ago a caucus was held, at which Edward St. Clair was declared the choice of the ward to represent it in the town council. His candidacy was an accepted fact up to a few days ago, when an evil genius came upon the scene. Prof. Jas. W. Derry who lives in the fourth ward, is not an ardent admirer of the St. Clair family, some say for political reasons. In conjunction with Henry Kennard, and with the advice of the editor of the "Era," Derry put up Richard Green as an Abe Lincoln man around whom all the colored brethren could rally.[15]

Derry brought Kennard and Green, both less educated laborers, into the political effort. The *Cambridge Era*'s white Republican editor, Henry W. Straughn, a forty-eight-year-old bachelor living at home near the black community on High Street with his father, the minister Charles Straughn, was viewed as a progressive force in Dorchester's racial affairs. "Seeing that foreigners were intermeddling and stirring up strife," the *Democrat & News* continued,

> Edward declined the proffered honor, which must be unanimous for him or not at all, and it looked at one time as if Derry's little game

"The Merry Band" was more than a band. Organized in the 1890s, it included many of Cambridge's African American political leaders. Seated cross-legged in the center is Benjamin Jenifer Jr., the group's manager. Seated first left is Maynie St. Clair; standing fifth from left is his brother, Ed St. Clair. (From Dorchester County: A Pictorial History *[Cambridge, Md.: Commissioners of Dorchester County, 1976].)*

> was going to work. But the opposition soon recovered from its surprise and set up and held fast to the Monroe doctrine, that their ward was not to be interfered with, in matters that related to it only, by anybody outside of it; and, as it had been proclaimed all along that politics was not to be an issue, horns were locked by putting up Cyrus St. Clair to cross swords with the dusky Richard for the honor.

June 20 was election day. Polling in the second ward was to take place between noon and 2:00 P.M. at Charles Webb's store on the corner of Muir and Pine Streets. Cyrus St. Clair, the candidate's father, and Benjamin Jenifer, the colored-school teacher, served as two of the election judges for the contest. According to the *Cambridge Chronicle*, "All the better element of the race sided with the St. Clair men, and the few white men in the ward also espoused his cause." "For two days and nights previous to the election there was not much eating, sleeping or work done in south-west Cambridge," the paper continued, "each side being confident and determined to lose nothing by standing still. Around the polls on election day looked like the first Tuesday after the first Monday in October." St. Clair won by a vote of fifty to forty-five.[16]

Politics proved not to be of lasting interest to Cyrus St. Clair. After completing his two-year term, he declined to run for reelection. In the 1890 race Kennard, Derry, "and the old regulars" supported thirty-five-year-old Zachariah Jews, a

laborer residing on Pine Street, for the second ward seat. The St. Clair forces put forth Samuel Jackson, an educated, High Street grocer. To the *Democrat & News* it was the "more intelligent and progressive" voters that stood behind Jackson, who beat Jews seventy-eight to sixty.[17]

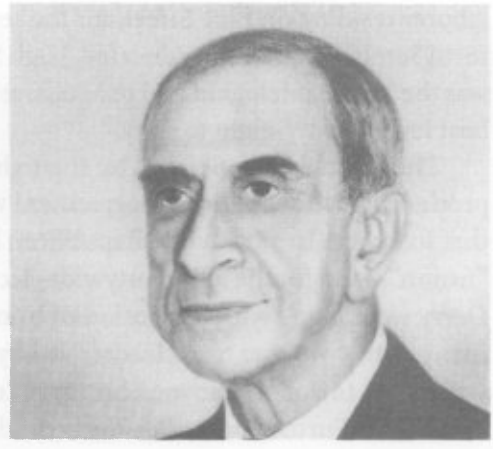
The animosity generated by the tight, bitterly fought 1888 and 1890 races produced further political disagreement within the black community in the years that followed. In 1891 white Republican leaders pressed for the nomination of a "fusion" ticket for the fall countywide elections. While older party regulars such as Derry went along with the notion of bringing Democrats into a coalition effort, many of the younger black leaders, led by Maynie St. Clair and Benjamin Jenifer, vowed not to vote for anyone but true Republicans. Derry and the regulars won this battle. Furthermore, Fusionist candidates did well in Dorchester in 1891, winning several seats in the House of Delegates and on the county commission.[18]

In August 1891, as an adjunct to the Republican State Convention held in Ocean City, black leaders formed a separate caucus that called for a statewide colored convention to be held in Annapolis in March 1892. They proposed that it "thoroughly consider the educational, industrial and political interests of the colored people of Maryland." Thereafter, blacks in each county were to convene local conventions in which delegates to Annapolis would be chosen.[19]

The factional rift in Dorchester prevented a coordinated approach to this task. In late February a group of black leaders, headed by Derry, gathered in what they termed the official Dorchester convention. They forbade admission to anyone who had refused in the recent November election to vote for Fusion ticket Democrats. The Derry convention, generally consisting of the more acquiescent supporters of Dorchester's traditional, older, white Republicans, elected Derry and three others to be Dorchester's four delegates to Annapolis.[20]

Refusing to be excluded from the process, the younger, more independent set of black political leaders with Benjamin Jenifer and Maynie St. Clair at the forefront organized primaries in early March in each election district in the county. A few days later the elected delegates convened at Jenifer Hall to select a set of delegates that would contest at the Annapolis convention the legitimacy of the Derry group. This convention elected St. Clair and three others. It also passed resolutions condemning the "unscrupulous designing politicians" who were perpetuating "factional strife" and resolved to work toward "reconciliation of the rapidly growing differences between the colored leaders of Dorchester County." The credentials committee at the Annapolis Convention eventually seated the St. Clair/Jenifer delegation.[21]

In a concurrent development, seemingly not unconnected to this struggle for power in Dorchester, influential state Republican leader, William Marine, a native of Vienna in Dorchester County and now serving the Harrison administration as the collector of the Port of Baltimore, raised local eyebrows by announcing the



H. Maynadier St. Clair of the St. Clair political dynasty. (From Dorchester County: A Pictorial History *[Cambridge, Md.: Commissioners of Dorchester County, 1976].)*

appointment of Zachariah Jews, the Derry stalwart, to a $520 per year position in the customs house in Baltimore. White Republicans apparently were sending a message regarding rewards for party loyalty. The friction in Dorchester had awakened white party leaders to the need for a modest level of attentiveness to their black majority constituents.[22]

The June 1892 election for town council was reported to be "spirited" in nearly all of Cambridge's wards and enjoyed record voter turnout. It resulted in the first Republican controlled council since the district system was enacted. The voters also showed their independence. In the second ward Samuel Eaves out-polled incumbent Samuel Jackson only to find himself nearly disqualified. After the election it surfaced that he had not met the qualification for candidates of owning, in his own name or that of his wife, two hundred dollars worth of real estate. Eaves shortly thereafter purchased additional real estate and was, eventually, seated on the council.[23] The 1892 election proved to be the last before the commencement of the half-century reign of Maynie St. Clair, who would go on to dominate second ward politics for the next fifty years. The twenty-six-year-old, who taught school and was now in the grocery business with his brother Edward, was said to be "well respected by the white community." In 1894 the youngest St. Clair defeated John W. Wing by a ninety to forty-seven count. More votes were cast in the second ward than in any other. St. Clair went on to repeat this success for five full decades until his retirement in 1946.[24]

It was the change in electoral structure—the substitution of a single-member district for an at-large voting system—that dramatically altered the democratic life of Cambridge's black citizens. The black community's ghetto-like confinement into the second ward gave significance to this change. As political scientists a century later would rediscover, it is in the context of single-member district elections

that black and other minorities can more readily attain electoral equity. Because of the historic failure of white voters to support black candidates, only when a district with a black majority is drawn have black voters usually attained a reasonable opportunity to elect one of their own race.[25]

The willingness of Cambridge's white leaders to permit the town's colored population to elect a representative of its own choice to the town council was due in part, no doubt, to the economic prosperity it then enjoyed. From all accounts, expanding job markets enhanced interracial harmony. Racial scapegoating tends to diminish in better times. Cambridge in the latter nineteenth century displayed a far more tolerant racial attitude than did most other parts of the Shore. Parts of the work force were integrated. Although seven black men were lynched on the Shore in the two decades following 1890, no such mob violence occurred in Dorchester County.[26]

It furthermore appears that a major impetus to the adoption of the districting system simply came from the white community's notion of "good government." Many viewed this more localized system as helping to foster greater commissioner/citizen accountability. "When anything is needed in one section, the people would simply see the councilman or commissioner for that section, and it would be his business to attend to it," explained the *Democrat & News*. This attitude might also reflect a white desire to be rid of the black man's burden.[27]

The white willingness to share power was undoubtedly made easier by the existence of a respected, educated class of black teachers, ministers, and businessmen whose upstanding and successful ways gained a modicum of respect from white leaders. The regard for religion and education demonstrated by the Jenifer family and the talent for business and leadership shown by the St. Clair clan were ample proof that the town's black leaders could keep fair pace with its white establishment in educational attainment and financial clout.

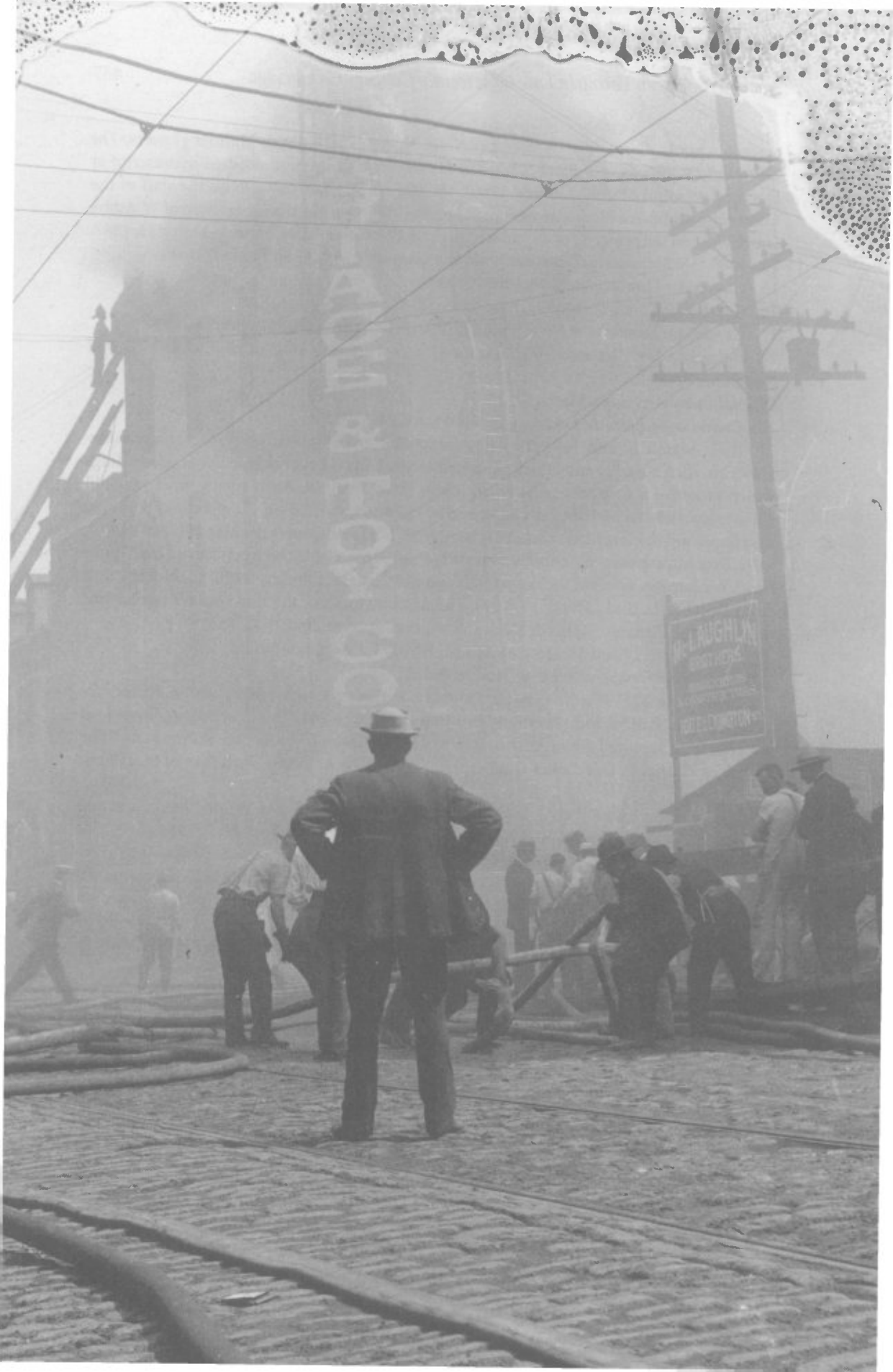
Although one of five votes on a town council can do little to permit a black minority to gain its share of council victories, it at least placed a black man within the ambit of the town's decision-making process. Blacks would no longer be kept totally on the outside. They were able to stay abreast of local governmental developments as they were evolving, rather than after their enactment. Also, the residents of the second ward finally had an advocate for their neighborhood concerns, one who could lobby for better schools, streets, and other public services. Thus, although drastic change did not arrive for the town's less educated, less affluent minority, a good part of our nation's democratic promise had been fulfilled.

NOTES

1. The only African American elected to public office in Maryland prior to Collins was William H. Butler, an Annapolis carpenter, elected in April 1873 to the Annapolis City Council. Butler successfully ran at large as a member of the Republican ticket. *Baltimore Sun,* April 8, 1873. Others have incorrectly suggested that Harry S. Cummings, elected to the Baltimore City Council in 1890, was the first African American elected to public office in Maryland. See for example Margaret Law Callcott, *The Negro in Maryland Politics: 1870–1912* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), 153.
2. *Cambridge Democrat & News,* June 24, 1882 (1882 results); June 14, 1884 (voting procedures); *Cambridge Chronicle,* October 4, 1882 (town census).
3. Cambridge *Democrat & News,* June 24, 1882. Although the tenor of the press at this time clearly held blacks in ridicule, the blot on the 1882 election was the "lively fight" that occurred between white partisans in the nearly all white fifth ward, resulting in "several knock downs and bloody noses." "Knives, pistols, etc., were flourished, but fortunately not brought into use." Without focusing on the race of the malcontents, the *Democrat & News* hoped that "these disgraceful scenes will not be repeated at any of our elections in the future." Ibid.
4. Ibid., June 14, 1884, June 19 and 26, 1886. Jenifer's father, a former slave, was for many years the preeminent black educator in Cambridge. The first colored school in which he taught, located just west of Waugh Church on High Street, was eventually named Jenifer Hall. See Commissioners of Dorchester County, *Dorchester County A Pictorial History* (Cambridge: Western Publishing Co., 1976), 75; *American Union,* March 11, 1875 (Jenifer's obituary).
5. *Cambridge Democrat & News,* July 31, 1880, quoting *Baltimore Sun,* n.s.; *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), 64; *Baltimore Sun Almanac,* 1892, 87; *American Union,* January 15, 1885.
6. *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1874), 163–64; *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890, Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), 177–78, 533; *Baltimore Sun Almanac,* 1892, 87.
7. *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Shipbuilding Industry in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1884), 127; *Cambridge Democrat & News,* October 1, 1881; *American Union,* June 10, 1875 (Talbot County farm wages).
8. *Cambridge Democrat & News,* October 1, 1881, quoting *Baltimore Sun*; *The 1877 Atlases & Other Early Maps* (Salisbury: Peninsula Press, 1976), 76 (Wing's operation).
9. In April 1851 Cyrus St. Clair, the town's butcher; Benjamin Jenifer, the teacher and minister; and Thomas Fuller, the local barber, formed the Cambridge African Colonization Society. As long as they continued to live in the United States, they announced, they would "remain an inferior and degraded people." *Maryland Colonization Journal,* 6 (June 1851): 6–7, quoting *Cambridge Chronicle,* n.s. Fuller and Jenifer later sailed to explore Liberia. Ibid., 6 (December 1852): 98–104. Fuller eventually emigrated there and ultimately served in its senate. Ibid., 6 (December 1855): 105–6. In 1855 Stephan Allen Benson, another Cambridge native, became Liberia's president. Ibid., 8 (August 1856): 225–26.
10. *Cambridge Chronicle,* October 4, 1871.
11. *Baltimore Sun Almanac,* 1876–89; *Cambridge Chronicle,* August 19, 1874, June 14, 1876.
12. Derry resided in the fourth ward. *Cambridge Democrat & News,* June 23, 1888.
13. In 1850 Cyrus St. Clair had founded a butcher shop on Market Street that catered to a white clientele; this success in the meat and grocery business was carried on by his middle son, Cyrus Jr. Edward and Herbert "Maynie" St. Clair and Benjamin Jenifer taught in Cambridge's

colored schools. *Cambridge Democrat & News*, November 17, 1900; Thomas Flowers, *The Historical Development of Black Schools in Dorchester County* (unpublished manuscript at Dorchester County Public Library, 1980), 55. Maynie St. Clair was also on the staff of the *Cambridge Advance*, a black-run newspaper begun in 1887 under the supervision of W. Ashby Hawkins, then the principle of the colored high school. *Cambridge Chronicle*, March 31, 1887.

14. 1880 U.S. Manuscript Census; *Cambridge Chronicle*, May 17 and June 7, 1888.
15. *Cambridge Democrat & News*, June 23, 1888.
16. *Cambridge Chronicle*, June 7, 1888.
17. *Cambridge Democrat & News*, June 21, 1890; *Cambridge Chronicle*, June 26, 1890.
18. *Baltimore Sun Almanac*, 1892, 66; *Cambridge Chronicle*, August 20, October 22, and November 5, 1891.
19. *Baltimore American*, March 17, 1892.
20. *Cambridge Chronicle*, February 25 and March 24, 1892.
21. Ibid., March 10 and 24, 1892. The Annapolis convention was a spirited affair. Ashby Hawkins, then a lawyer and educator in Baltimore, played a crucial role in the proceedings which crowned a new statewide black leader, D. T. Williamson, a thirty-three-year-old Chestertown jeweler and optician, described by Hawkins as a man who "represents the young, aggressive and intelligent manhood of the negro." *Baltimore American*, March 17, 18 and 19, 1892. Proclaiming that "the condition of every colored man" must take precedence over "politics," Williamson directed the credentials committee to seat the Jenifer/St. Clair delegation from Dorchester. Ibid., March 19, 1892. The primary focus of the convention's resolutions was upon the disparate status of black and white education. Ibid.
22. Ibid., March 17 and 24, 1892; March 13, 1890 (Marine appointment)
23. *Cambridge Democrat & News*, June 18 and 25, 1892.
24. Ibid., June 23, 1894; Thomas A. Flowers, *Dorchester County, Maryland, A History for Young People* (Easton, Md.: Economy Printing Co., 1982), 244. The *Cambridge Chronicle* of June 28, 1894, reported the vote as being 90 to 43 in St. Clair's favor. George Robert Kent, "The Negro in Politics in Dorchester County, 1920–1960" (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1961), 53.
25. Peggy Heilig and Robert J. Mundt, *Your Voice at City Hall: The Politics, Procedures and Policies of District Representation* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 5–8, 150. In 1965 Congress passed the Voting Rights Act, designed in part to preclude devices such as at-large voting schemes that effectively denied black full involvement in the political system. 42 U.S.C. §1973. In *Thornburg* v. *Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986), the Supreme Court rendered its fullest interpretation of the Act.
26. Regarding the Eastern Shore lynchings, see *Baltimore Sun*, May 11 and 13, 1891, May 18 and 19, 1892, June 9, 1896, June 10, 1897, and May 27, 1898.
27. *Cambridge Democrat & News*, March 27, 1880, June 24, 1882.


TOBACCO
O'LAUGHLIN

Portfolio

Maryland in Focus

In December 2000 the Maryland Historical Society opened an exhibition of photographs to examine the development of photography in the state. Covering the origins of local photography in the late 1830s to the present day, the exhibition provides an informative overview of photography and glimpses of Maryland life from the Jacksonian era to the twenty-first century that are variously quaint, charming, accomplished, tragic, comic, and spectacular. We present here a small sampling of the nearly five hundred images on display. An "M" indicates the photograph is on display until April 15, 2001, at the Maryland Historical Society. A "T" indicates it is part of the smaller, ongoing traveling exhibition touring the state. Call the Maryland Historical Society for sites and schedule.

Opposite: Toy company fire, 1904. Unidentified photographer. (M)
Below: On the Old Franklin Road, 1900. Photographer unknown. (T)

Above: Goucher Class Day. Emily Spencer Hayden, c. 1910. (M)
Left: Muskrat Catcher, Cambridge, 1946. A. Aubrey Bodine. (T)
Below: "She Leans." Kent Island, deserted house near Romancoke Ferry, 1949. A. Aubrey Bodine. (T)

Above: Lizette Woodworth Reese, c. 1915. By Emily Spencer Hayden. (MT)
Right: Venus and Jeremiah Tilghman. Unidentified photographer, c. 1850. (MT)
Below: Baltimore Harbor. Henry H. Clark, c. 1851. (M)

Marsh Market space after the 1904 Baltimore fire. Robert D. Darby. (M)

Civil Rights picket line, Ford's Theatre. Paul Henderson, 1951. (MT)

X-Ray portrait of H. L. Mencken, 1921. Unknown photographer. (M)

Fairchild Aircraft Plant, c. 1945. Unknown photographer. (MT)

First released veterans, May 12, 1945. A. Aubrey Bodine. (T)

From Fisher family album. Unidentified photographer, c. 1910. (M)

Workers' strike. Robert F. Kniesche, c. 1931. (M)

Spring Grove State Hospital, 1965. Overcrowding in state psychiatric hospitals produced horrific living conditions for Maryland's mentally ill patients. (Maryland State Archives.)

The Lost Way: Community Mental Health in Maryland, 1960–75

JONATHAN ENGEL

The late 1950s and early 1960s brought fundamental changes in public care of the severely mentally ill. Housed since the mid-nineteenth century in large custodial hospitals, chronic mental patients began to draw public attention to their plight in the years after World War II as overcrowding in the hospitals led to filth, isolation, and declining clinical standards. Maryland's four state psychiatric hospitals—in Spring Grove, Springfield, Crownsville, and on the Eastern Shore—housed over nine thousand patients in 1949 in buildings designed to hold only five thousand. *Baltimore Sun* reporter Howard Norton described the horrific conditions in a seven-part series entitled "Maryland's Shame," which ran in January 1949. "The food served to the inmates looks and smells like garbage," he wrote, "and tastes little better."[1] Many patients, often semi-clothed and incontinent, sat on floors in crowded rooms during the day doing little beyond rocking back and forth and staring into space. Other states had their own "shames" exposed as muckraking reporters wrote about hospitals throughout the country with records of protracted patient stays (often exceeding ten years), inadequate public expenditures (averaging $2.50 per patient per day), and lack of effective psychiatric therapies available to the states' wards.

While new funding eased the worst of the crowding and abuses, the mental health advocates began to suspect in the mid-1950s that a truly effective solution would require an entirely new approach to treating the chronically mentally ill. State hospitals, even at their best, were little more than holding pens for schizophrenics and depressives who lacked families willing to care for them. While some patients improved over the course of several months, many checked in for ten years or more, and others stayed for life. The institutions isolated the patients from normal human contact and activity: a situation that some mental health professionals suspected only worsened their plight. A new approach to treating the severely ill grounded in community-based programs, drug treatment, and psycho-therapeutic engagement seemed promising.

From the start, community mental health was an ambiguous notion. In one sense, the idea of treating the mentally ill within their communities, families, or schools was quite old. From school-based child guidance clinics in the 1930s to the settlement houses of the progressive era, advocates for the mentally ill had sought

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to treat mental illness prophylactically and with unintrusive approaches since the end of the nineteenth century. Older still were the town-based programs in Belgium and elsewhere in Europe which had housed the mentally ill in citizens' homes since the late Middle Ages. But community mental health in the modern sense was a product of new thinking in the psychiatric profession coupled with the stunning preliminary success of the drug Thorazine. Young psychiatrists in the 1950s began to experiment with Freudian treatments not merely of the "worried well" but also the seriously sick. Historian Gerald Grob writes of the "young Turks" in the American Psychiatric Association who sought to develop a new paradigm of treatment for the severely mentally ill, in which long-time residents of psychiatric hospitals would be released to their families and communities, where they could be stabilized on drugs and actively treated with daily rounds of psychotherapy at the local community mental health center, while drawing on the support of family and friends.[2] The novel approach gained new credibility with the passage of the 1963 federal Community Mental Health Centers Act, which provided matching funds to states to build new community mental health centers (CMHCs) so long as certain program requirements were met and the state produced a comprehensive plan.

Movement toward a community-based approach to severe mental illness was national but differed in timing and scope from state to state. New York and Minnesota, starting in the mid-1950s, committed themselves to comprehensive statewide community programs and granted local and county public health offices substantial state funds to build and staff new centers and clinics. Maryland's movement toward CMHCs was closer to the average response. Although the state produced a workable plan for community mental health in the years following the 1963 act, it lacked the political will to fund the program at levels required by a full-fledged program. Maryland ultimately built a half-dozen successful CMHCs, but three had roots in older civic institutions and state hospital outpatient clinics, and one was funded, unusually so, by the National Institute of Mental Health as a demonstration project. Ultimately community mental health failed to fulfill its early promise in Maryland, with the result that thousands of former patients were shunted to long-term nursing homes rather than CMHCs. A diminution of federal commitment to the program in the mid-1970s exacerbated the failure, but the seeds were sown in Maryland's own legislature.

Early Efforts in Maryland

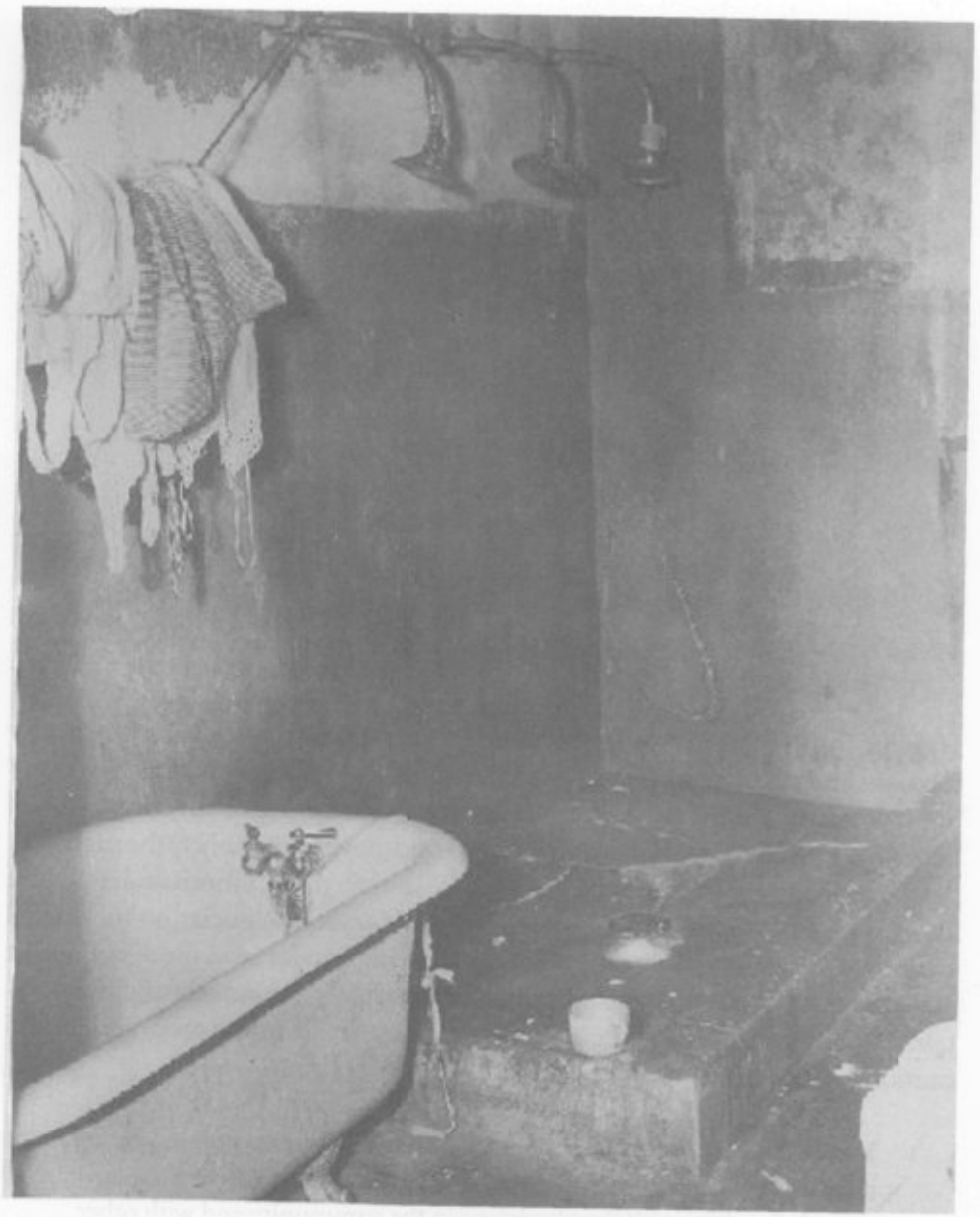
As early as 1948, Edith Stern, the gadfly of Maryland mental health, had written a letter to Department of Mental Hygiene Commissioner George Preston calling his attention to a new institution she had witnessed on a trip to Ohio. "For your interest," she wrote, "I am enclosing the program of the Western Ohio Mental

Department of Mental Health Commissioner Isidore Tuerk cautiously endorsed the agency's move toward community mental health care. (Maryland State Archives.)

Hygiene Institute which seems to me, at any rate, an excellent job in community relations and laying the groundwork for interest in community mental hygiene."[3] Stern was ahead of her time. Preston failed to respond, and twelve years passed before, in 1960, officials of the DMH began to acknowledge publicly the need for a new approach to mental health in the state. In that year Commissioner Isidore Tuerk noted in *Spotlight*, the newsletter of the Maryland Association for Mental Health (MAMH), that "an entire new area is opening up for us in the development and expansion of facilities and programs in mental hygiene outside of state hospitals." While Tuerk did not officially sanction these facilities and programs, he did cautiously endorse them.

> The Department of Mental Hygiene has much to offer in these extra-institutional developments. Patterns for developing closer cooperative relationships with the physicians in the community and with other agencies, such as Health, Education, Welfare, Correction, and Employment Security, require searching scrutiny and implementation.[4]

DMH first moved toward community mental health care when it agreed to fund the operational cost of a day hospital that opened in Baltimore in 1962. In an article on the new hospital, department psychiatrist Maxwell Weisman noted that it could be viewed as a pilot program that incorporated some of the functions of a community mental health center. "Here frankly psychotic patients have been



Disintegrating facilities at Spring Grove State Hospital, 1965. although extra funds had been approved by the legislature for capital improvements through the 1950s, many buildings remained in bad condition. (Maryland State Archives.)

treated by the accepted methods used in mental hospitals without recourse to hospitalization," he wrote.[5] The hospital, directed by psychiatrist Gertrude Gross, discharged twenty-nine patients in the first year classified as "improved," each staying an average of only 3.1 months. Of equal importance was that those patients unresponsive to treatment left on average after scarcely a month and a half.

Spring Grove State Hospital, 1965. (Maryland State Archives.)

Compared to the usual stays of ten to twenty years for difficult patients in the state hospitals, the efficiency of the new institution was notable.

Elsewhere in the state various individuals took charge of community mental health efforts independent of the DMH. Crownsville State Hospital, outside Annapolis, established an outpatient clinic in Baltimore in 1961 in the hope of preventing relapse in some of its discharged patients. The following year Springfield State Hospital applied for and received a grant from the National Advisory Mental Health Council to expand its foster home care program that had begun on a voluntary basis several years earlier in the communities around Sykesville, where the hospital was located. While the amount of the grant was just over $100,000, it was received outside of any budgetary allocations from the DMH in Baltimore—typical of the early community mental health efforts. That year, in his commissioner's address, Tuerk spoke of the "alternatives to mental hospitalization, such as psychiatric facilities in general hospitals, clinics, day hospitals, home visits, etc."[6]

Official state action began in 1962 in the aftermath of recommendations made by a federal commission on mental health, with the DMH proposing the opening of three community psychiatric centers: one in western Maryland and two in the

Senate majority leader Marvin Mandel threw his support behind the community mental center movement after the Baltimore center proved successful. (Maryland State Archives.)

Baltimore-Washington area.[7] "They will make possible the intensive treatment of the acute psychiatric disorders, close to the patient's home, and utilizing as much of the community facilities as possible," declared Tuerk in his bi-monthly report.[8] At almost the same time, a halfway house opened in Baltimore on Eutaw Place for psychiatric patients other than alcoholics. Run under private auspices and directed by nurse Janie Maxie, the house was another of the varied institutions arising in the early sixties in response to the growing quest for a more community-based mental health program.

The Baltimore Day Hospital's practice, meanwhile, was growing rapidly. By December 1962 it was treating patients with psychotherapy, drug therapy, and electric shock treatment, and achieving enough success to prompt Tuerk to endorse its approach as a model for future forays into community-based treatment. Responding to a legislative inquiry that month, he described the aims of the day hospital as being "to provide psychiatric treatment under medical supervision, to prevent 24-hour hospitalization without removing the patient totally from his environment, his family, and his friends."[9] By April 1963 the center was operating beyond capacity, and Tuerk took the popularity to be a vindication of the experiment. He wrote in the department newsletter that month: "This proves the need for such facilities in the metropolitan area and shows the acceptance of the day center concept by both the medical profession and the patients and their families."[10] Majority leader Marvin Mandel needed little more proof to embrace wholeheartedly community mental health.

Representative Carlton Sickles lobbied for President John F. Kennedy's federally funded mental health care programs. (Maryland State Archives.)

Maryland's nascent community mental health program gained impetus in February 1963 when President John F. Kennedy urged Congress to fund CMHCs as part of a broad federal mental health effort. That May, Maryland congressman Carlton Sickles endorsed the Kennedy vision of mental health care before a gathering at the MAMH. "Valiant efforts have been made by localities and states to develop the proper kind of institutional care for these unfortunate citizens," Sickles said, "but it has not been nearly enough." Turning to the CMHC Act of that year, Sickles expressed hope that by following Kennedy's lead the state would "be able to offer to the mentally ill all the necessary services and facilities calculated to do one specific thing: to keep as many mental patients as possible in their home communities for early diagnosis, rapid treatment, and speedy rehabilitation."[11]

More immediate, however, was the challenge of formulating a comprehensive plan for mental health care in the state as a first step in complying with federal CMHC funding application guidelines. Congress had designated $4.2 million that year (Maryland's share came to $50,000) for the purposes of "Comprehensive Mental Health Planning." Tuerk announced in August that he was establishing a planning committee to include members of the state mental health association as well as representatives from various statewide agencies concerned with the plan. The offices of director and associate director of the planning unit would be crucial choices, for they would be responsible for the majority of the research (along with their staff) and actually write the report, in compliance with the advice of the committee. Although Johns Hopkins University psychiatry professor Howard Kern was

immediately appointed staff director of the committee, the two crucial positions of director and associate director would not be filled until the end of the year.[12]

Meanwhile, both the DMH and the Maryland legislature indicated greater commitment to community mental health. In that year's DMH budget proposal, Tuerk requested $6.8 million for departmental operations. Although it approved the request, the legislature noted that additional hospital beds were an "unfortunate alternative" to a more desirable program centered on community-based services.[13] At the same time Tuerk proposed a major organizational shift of responsibility for the state's school-based child guidance clinics, moving them from the Department of Health to the DMH where they would anchor the new Office of Community Mental Health. Interagency rivalries had long handicapped efforts to coordinate the clinics with burgeoning plans for community mental health; the transfer, when it was approved, presaged a more cohesive statewide approach to CMHCs. Concurrent with the decision, the final figures came from Washington on the total allocations from the CMHC Act. Maryland was to get $2,900,000 over four years for CMHC construction and $1,013,000 during the same period for mental retardation centers. All that remained to be done was creation of a comprehensive plan. To lead that effort Tuerk appointed local physician Alice Tobler.

The Tobler Plan

Tobler, born in Berlin, had received her medical training in Switzerland, where her father had transferred his assets in light of growing anti-Semitism in Germany in the 1920s. Specializing in tuberculosis (because of a lack of other options), she underwent residency training at the tuberculosis hospital in Zurich Canton and later earned a Masters of Public Health at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. In 1941 Dr. T. B. Turner of the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene invited her to become an interim instructor in bacteriology. The appointment was mutually beneficial; Tobler gained the credentials necessary to further her career in the United States while Turner could staff his institute. She stayed for a year and a half before becoming assistant health commissioner of Anne Arundel County but had hardly begun her stint with the health department when she married Herbert Lenhoff, a German refugee who was then living in Mexico.

While Tobler had received her U.S. citizenship that year, Lenhoff was among the backlog of refugees who could not gain entrance to the United States without family ties. His marriage to Tobler enabled him to enter the United States legally as her husband. A gifted dilettante, Lenhoff had dropped out of medical school to study Freudian analysis and shortly after marrying Tobler moved to New York to continue his training. Tobler followed, accepting a post at Columbia University in tuberculosis research. The war's conclusion, however, brought numerous discharged army physicians back to civilian practice, flooding the research market.

Tobler's faculty mentor struggled to find her an alternative post at Columbia (she had already resigned her county position), but the best he was able to do was place her in the Department of Psychiatry. Although Tobler, who continued with her tuberculosis research in aging twins, had never actually conducted psychiatric research, she had become interested in psychiatry through her husband's analytic training and already was familiar with the field. In her two years at Columbia she gained exposure to mental illness theories and therapies and returned to Maryland in 1948 with yet another specialty in her repertoire. Her husband never did complete his training, opting instead to write a novel.

From 1948 to 1956 Tobler served as the public health officer in Calvert County and was eventually placed in charge of the medical care program in Maryland for indigent patients. Her office was in the health department's central building on Preston Street in Baltimore. There she could observe the growing political polarization of the Department of Health, which at that point was still in charge of the child guidance clinics, and the DMH, still mainly a department devoted to the administration of the large state hospitals. Both the health department and the DMH deferred to the state Board of Health and Mental Hygiene as their advisory body, creating a constant tension within the board as to who should administer public mental health programs. Thus, when the 1963 federal CMHC funds were deeded to the board, the interagency political squabble became more pronounced.

Tobler never thought that she was the most qualified person to head the planning unit for community mental health. The most qualified individual in the state was clearly Paul Lemkau, the Johns Hopkins public health professor who had devoted his career to public health aspects of mental hygiene. Lemkau, however, had spent his life working in mental health programs run through the DMH and thus had never developed the necessary connections with the health department proponents on the Board of Health and Mental Hygiene. The director of planning would have to be approved by both Tuerk and health commissioner John C. Whitehorn, and Lemkau simply did not have Whitehorn's favor. Whitehorn was happy to approve Tobler for the job, but Tuerk was skeptical because of her lack of psychiatric training. In her interview with Tuerk, Tobler pointed to her two-year appointment in the Columbia psychiatry department, omitting the fact that she had actually been doing tuberculosis research there, and thereupon received his approval.

The task facing Tobler was quite large. Aiding her were research assistants David Nurco and Paula Hamburger as well as a biostatistician, two secretaries, and a typist. One of the first decisions she made was to try in her final report to resolve the political struggles endemic to the department. She would, as much as possible, dissuade the board from establishing yet another hierarchy to administer the community mental health centers and affiliate the centers instead with the multiple health services already administered in the counties, among them well-

Mabel Creighton, Chief Supervisor of Social Services at Eastern Shore Hospital, encourages an elderly patient at the new geriatric center to take a ride into town. (Maryland State Archives.)

baby, orthopedic, and epileptic clinics. Another feasible alternative was to link the centers, where possible, to the psychiatric hospitals, all of which had already established some type of after-care clinic for their discharged patients.

The situation was interwoven with political subtleties. Maryland had a curiously strong tradition of independent public health officers in the counties, who, with both state and public health appointments, carried substantial local administrative power. Tobler had garnered some credibility with these individuals as the result of her own days as a public health officer in both Anne Arundel and Calvert Counties, and she felt from the beginning that she could not afford to alienate them in her final recommendations. Another consideration was Tuerk's strong connection with Mandel, whose family, like Tuerk's, was an established presence in Maryland's Jewish community. A third consideration was the Eastern Shore's independence from the rest of the state. Eastern Shore Hospital was the only one of the four state hospitals which received no patients from Baltimore, and the Eastern Shore delegates tended to vote as a bloc in the House of Delegates, creating a powerful political entity with interests quite separate from mainland counties. Partly as a result of this power, Eastern Shore already had a functional community mental health center in 1963, run under the auspices of Eastern Shore Hospital. Clearly this part of the state would merit special consideration in the final report.

Rising dissent in the newly approved twenty-one-member State Mental Health Planning Committee also merited consideration. Committee members, including representatives from the Maryland Association for Mental Health (MAMH) as well as various agencies, argued frequently, forcing Tobler to mediate among them. Upon her request, health and mental hygiene board chairman Aaron Deitz ap-

Volunteers and patients of Spring Grove State Hospital take a shopping trip and practice moving about in the community. (Maryland State Archives.)

pointed a steering committee consisting of Whitehorn, retired legislator Walter Kirkman, and Irene Duffy, a registered nurse also on the board, to act as intermediaries with the committee. These three individuals gained substantial respect among the committee members—enough, Tobler hoped, to allow her to accomplish her task. "Everybody knew what should be done," she remembered years later. "It had all to do with power and money, and very little to do with anything else."[14]

As much as possible, Tobler granted autonomy to the individual counties throughout the planning process. Designating teams consisting of the local public health officer, police chief, correctional officer, welfare head, and a general practitioner, she had Nurco attend each of the local planning sessions in an attempt to coordinate the counties' varying wishes. At the same time, she consulted with the already existing successful programs (the Baltimore Day Hospital, the outpatient clinics of the state hospitals, and Crownsville's new day hospital) in an attempt to integrate them into the final plan. Psychiatrists across the state had good ideas to contribute, but Tobler felt that they were frequently impractical in envisioning implementation of their programs—reflecting their natural antipathy to administration.

Tobler also consulted with Paul Lemkau, who she believed could contribute much to the project. When she first approached him, Lemkau was angry about the selection process. He felt, like Tobler, that her job should have been his. Over time his hard feelings abated, and in the next two years he proved to be a valuable source of ideas and insights. Unlike Tobler, he had undergone psychiatric training before turning to public health and was able to help with some of the medical aspects of the issue in addition to lending his considerable political and administrative acuity.

The final report, "Maryland State Comprehensive Plan for Community Mental Health Services," was completed in November 1965 and delivered to board chairman Aaron Deitz. Written almost entirely by Tobler, the report began by acknowledging the steps already taken to improve mental health care in the state. Among those steps were the opening of outpatient clinics by the state hospitals, the opening of psychiatric units in general hospitals, and an increase in insurance coverage for mental disorders. The report also credited the new psychotropic drugs with many improvements made in the hospitals themselves.

Tobler's recommendations were relatively straightforward, the primary one being a turn toward community mental health centers as the central treatment sites in the state's mental health system. While some centers would have to be built from scratch, the majority could be built upon existing programs based in state hospitals, private hospitals and clinics, and health departments. The promised federal funds would be helpful but would be insufficient to "stimulate the growth of community facilities at a rate commensurate with the need."[15] For this reason, Tobler suggested that state funds be used for some facilities at first, and that these particular centers could serve as training areas for new professional staff, of which there was already an acute shortage.

"Comprehensive" meant two things: offering a complete array of psychiatric services and education programs, and making them universally accessible to all residents of the state.[16] To this end, Tobler thought it would be necessary to create subdivisions to adequately provide services for all of the state. Several rural counties might join together to form comprehensive community programs, while in other areas a single county would constitute the community. In the urban areas of Baltimore and Washington, a number of centers would be necessary to handle the diverse needs of those populations. Before any of these could be built, however, Tobler felt that the state must provide training facilities to increase the number of skilled practitioners. Even psychiatrists and psychologists already in the state's employ would need retraining to apply their skills to community mental health. Tobler suggested that it would "not be possible . . . to furnish in the foreseeable future sufficient professional personnel to adequately staff the new community mental health programs or any of the competing services in the areas of health, education, and welfare." Professional programs would have to be "geared to develop a larger number of highly trained teachers and leaders who can set standards and delineate practices. It will then become possible to establish additional training courses for technical specialists in various fields."[17]

The last major recommendation made by Tobler was administrative: creation of a new council of major state agencies to coordinate policy among the affected departments for community mental health. These departments (mental health, health, welfare, education, parole and probation, correction, and employment security) would be responsible to the governor on all major decisions regarding

mental health policy. Meeting annually, they would coordinate their programs so as not to overlap their services and allow each to feed smoothly to the new centers. Tobler hoped to preclude some of the political squabbling she had found so destructive in the past by incorporating this council.[18]

One of the subtle successes of the Tobler Report was its ability to distinguish differing needs for different parts of the state. While Baltimore presented certain challenges to the plan with its multi-ethnic population of varying socio-economic classes, the two counties surrounding Washington D.C. presented problems associated with the explosive growth of the region and its uniquely dependent relationship with the city. At the western end of the state, isolated from Baltimore and the Chesapeake by the Appalachian ridge, many residents had long turned to nearby Pennsylvania and West Virginia cities for certain medical and social services. Frederick County, sandwiched between wealthy Montgomery and rural Washington counties, stood poised on the cusp of suburbanization; it would no doubt soon serve a greater role in providing housing for the ever growing population of Washington D.C. and environs. As Tobler had suspected from the start, the Eastern Shore, with its homogenous economic grouping, demanded services "geared to a population with a large proportion of elderly people and Negroes who have not been trained to assume responsibilities in the economic life of the area or educated to seek opportunities elsewhere."[19]

The report specifically detailed where each new CMHC should be built, which existing institutions should expand mental health services to create truly comprehensive centers, and which general hospitals should expand the psychiatric facilities they already possessed. Baltimore, for example, was to build a comprehensive CMHC in the inner city in proximity to University Hospital, develop a center at Johns Hopkins Hospital with a strong focus on adolescents and children with a strong training program attached, expand a program at Sinai Hospital that was already being administered jointly with Springfield State Hospital, and transform a wing of Baltimore City Hospital into a twelve-bed psychiatric unit, while increasing both full-time and part-time psychiatric staff. All of these centers received highest priority, because adequate psychiatric personnel already resided in the area, and all four of the programs already existed in some form. By contrast, the new CMHC proposed for Harford and Cecil counties in the southern part of the state received low priority. There were no existing programs to build on, and virtually no trained personnel to staff a completed facility. "Plans should not be attempted until manpower training programs are under way and an adequate resident and consultant staff can be assured," wrote Tobler.[20] Other counties received intermediate priority.

Tobler was willing to consider every resource at her disposal in proposing plans for the different counties. In several counties she suggested having new CMHCs run in conjunction with existing private mental hospitals as well as the

state's two medical schools. Additional possibilities existed for the three medical schools in the District of Columbia for the CMHCs in Montgomery and Prince George's counties. The new CMHC could act as a training ground for the private hospital's staff, or as a partial base for a university residency program. In Washington County, in western Maryland, Tobler noted that "nearby Brook Lane Psychiatric Center has expressed much interest in participating in the development of a community mental health center in the area."[21]

Reactions to the report were generally positive.[22] On December 8 in Baltimore, five hundred citizens congregated for a day-long conference on community mental health planning, with much of the day focussed on Tobler's plan. Whitehorn delivered the keynote address and set a forward-looking tone: "Let us not mistake the current issue. It is not 'yes' or 'no,' shall we or shall we not have a community mental health program. The issue is, rather, whether we shall have a good community mental health program, or a bad one." Paul Lemkau, serving as chairman of the conference, reminded those assembled of the dangers of political infighting. The centers, he advised, "will require a cooperative and generous spirit on the part of existing agencies which, at least in some cases, will have to surrender some sovereignty as regards their function. This spirit of collaboration and generosity is sometimes as difficult to get as money is, yet it is essential to the success of the mental health center."[23]

Tuerk, too, was pleased with the report and upon its completion appointed Tobler director of planning for CMHCs, which effectively left her in charge of raising the money for her proposals. Funding had been the one weak part of the report. Tobler had somewhat vaguely referred to a cooperative arrangement of funding between local, state, and federal sources without explicitly delineating the amounts and timing of each source's contribution. Her first task as director was to propose a state budget allocation for community mental health. She requested $5 million that year, but the legislature granted her only half that, which became a bottom-level allocation. In the next seven years the state's allocation to community mental health would rise annually, until political pressures halted the program's growth.

More important, however, was the new legislation proposed by Tobler's report. The extent of her recommended changes went beyond the ordinary jurisdiction of administrative agencies. For one thing, federal guidelines stipulated a statewide mental health agency to act as the official representative of the state's CMHC effort in order to receive the federal matching funds, meaning that official designation would ultimately have to come through the legislature. That decision, largely semantic, would be minor compared to the political challenge of appropriating the necessary funding for both construction of and staffing the CMHCs. Tobler had reiterated the decades-old discussion of qualified staffing shortages, exempli-

Governor J. Millard Tawes signed Maryland's Community Mental Health Centers Act into law in April 1966. Compliance with federal regulations could qualify the states for matching funds.

fied by the complete absence of psychiatrists from several counties. In the days of large state hospitals this situation was acceptable, if undesirable. Effective community mental health was, however, incompatible with this maldistribution of trained professionals. If Washington and Garrett Counties were to have CMHCs, they must also have at least one psychiatrist living in the area and several psychologists and psychiatric social workers. Either the state would have to induce professionals to move there, or they would have to train new ones. Neither solution could be easily reached. Successful programs, whatever form they eventually were to take, would require new funding commitments by the state and probably whole new agencies.

A Flawed Program

From the beginning skeptics discouraged the state from acting upon Tobler's recommendations. In a critical attack on the report Kent Robinson, chairman of the Educational and Training Committee of the Advisory Council on Mental Hygiene, expressed that body's "conviction" that "it is already too late to make plans to train community mental health personnel." As an example he suggested that "if the community mental health center at University Hospital is to be adequately staffed, . . . without decimating the staffs of existing state facilities, additional personnel will have to be trained. Indeed, they should already be in training inas-

much as it takes longer to train adequate personnel than it does to build a new mental health center."[24]

Despite such views, the Legislative Council introduced the Maryland Community Mental Health Services Act into the Senate in January 1966, as the official legislative response to the Tobler Report.[25] Although the bill mandated little beyond the establishment of local community mental health boards and the designation of the mental health commissioner as the official organizing entity for the sake of qualifying for federal funds, many mental health proponents celebrated its passage as an incremental success. When Governor J. Millard Tawes signed Maryland's Community Mental Health Centers Act into law in April of that year, he remarked that he was creating an administrative structure, and indeed, a whole new program, to make available community mental health services to all of the citizens of Maryland. "The importance of this bill, and the significance of this day," he declared to an attentive gathering, "is that it marks a new era and a new approach to mental health and mental illness. It is the hope of those who are acquainted with the problems of mental illness that we may be on the verge of moving away from the treatment of large numbers of mentally ill persons in large hospitals, removed from their community, their family and their friends." At the same time, however, Tawes warned of the limits of the legislation. Noting that it was not self-executing and self-implementing, he told the crowd that "it will require the continuing interest and support of the dedicated citizens who have worked hard for the passage of this legislation if the dream of community mental health care in all sections of our state is to become a reality."[26]

The new legislation took its place among similar acts being passed nationwide as the majority of states submitted their community mental health plans to the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) in an effort to gain the promised federal matching funds. Indeed, by the late 1960s mental health improvement was a prominent issue for many states, demanding the attention and efforts of state governments at a level unknown a decade previous. Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, whose state had recently passed its own community mental health centers act, spoke at Maryland's annual legislative dinner on "The Illinois Attack on Mental Illness" and described his own state's efforts to involve the community in mental health. "Communities must quit writing off the enfeebled aged, the retarded and mentally ill children, the alcoholics and the host of other groups crippled by mental health problems," he told the assembled delegates and senators. "We at the state level are still not doing enough to help people help themselves."[27]

Despite the celebratory mood in mental health circles, however, some activists noted the deep flaws in Maryland's new law. George Sawyer, executive director of MAMH, sent a memo to the local chapter presidents that May that was essentially a call to arms. Calling the CMHC act a "law that of itself changes nothing," he

urged the local chapters to establish local mental health advisory boards, while warning of the possibility of attack:

> Unfortunately, the appointment of a Mental Health Advisory Board or Committee may be opposed in some localities. In some instances even by the local Health Officer. It may be necessary for the Association to enlist the support of other community organizations such as the PTA, church groups, League of Women Voters, men's and women's clubs, etc. The fate of the whole program is dependent upon the establishment of a local advisory Board or Committee.
>
> Be on the alert for sugar-coated efforts to sabotage the program. For example, a proposal that a Board of Health encompassing mental health be established instead of an independent Mental Health Advisory Board. Such an arrangement might well take all the dynamics out of the process established by the Act.[28]

Sawyer understood the perniciousness of the law from the beginning, having deciphered the weakness of the financing stipulations. All state funds committed to the program (necessary to earn the federal matching funds) would have to come out of the pre-existing case-formula system in which state and community participated 50-50 on all local *health* projects. For most municipalities, the extent of local health projects was minimal—making the system feasible for even the poorest communities in the state. But to apply this formula to a major new undertaking such as community mental health was unrealistic. Ultimately, if community mental health worked, it would absorb the majority of the patients then being treated in the state hospitals, which were financed entirely through the state budget. Shifting half of the burden to towns and counties was excessive from the start.

But the situation was even worse than that. In their local health budgets, each county was assigned an estimated minimum budget (EMB) that pre-dated the 1966 law. Any county exceeding its EMB received only 20 percent matching state funds, a situation sure to occur as the localities encumbered themselves with the cost of the CMHCs. Changing this formula posed enormous political problems because it would require budget shifts by the legislature, which then tended to resist funding new programs in light of revenue shortfalls. Sawyer understood all of this and noted in his May memo that the EMB had consequently become "something of a psychological barrier to the expansion of health services" and that any future advances in mental health would be predicated on convincing local governments that mental health services were "desperately needed." "Getting 20% of the cost from the state is no better than to have to foot the bill for the entire 100%," he concluded.[29]

These problems were not unique to Maryland. In early 1967 the National Association for Mental Health (NAMH) queried its member chapters on current handling of the federal legislation for construction and staffing CMHCs. Many of the chapters responded that their states were having difficulty meeting the requirements for the five required elements of service (as mandated by federal law) and in defining the catchment areas. Worse, though, were serious problems in obtaining state and local matching funds for construction and staffing. The NAMH presented its conclusions from the survey in its annual report that May, which emphasized the necessity of staking out a tactical legislative position and lobbying for it intensively.[30]

The federal government seemed oblivious to the difficulty states were having in complying with the guidelines necessary to receive matching funds. In 1967 Congress passed H.R. 6431, which renewed and extended the CMHC construction and staffing grants for three more years, while at the same time approving a 1968 budget of $100 million for community mental health without in any way modifying the prerequisites necessary to win part of these funds. It had now been four years since the passage of the initial legislation, time enough for any fundamental flaws in the original concept to be noted. Officially, none were.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the state programs were utterly non-functional. In Maryland, for example, the Prince George's County CMHC was being constructed with both state demonstration funds and federal staffing grants, with the hope of opening in November 1968. At the same time, the DMH approved thirteen projects submitted under the community mental health demonstration program included in the previous year's state operating budget, while in twelve counties covering all major regions of the state local mental health advisory committees had been formed in accord with the recommendation of the MAMH. These new committees were instrumental in proposing many of the demonstration projects. That year, too, Commissioner Tuerk retired and offered in his parting remarks strong encouragement for seeing the CMHCs through to their full potential. "It is urgent that the community mental health center program for Maryland continue to be pushed with energy and support so that patients can be treated promptly, effectively, in their own community and that there be a continuous organized structure for care of those individuals in their own community for this purpose."[31]

The one place in the state that promised to fulfill Tuerk's hopes was the new Prince George's County CMHC in Cheverly. Although the center exemplified the envisioned CMHCs, it was extraordinary in the fact that it was the only one of its kind in the state. There were a few other centers—Springfield Hospital had its old outpatient clinic in Baltimore, the Psychiatric Institute continued to run the old Community Chest clinic, and Eastern Shore and Crownsville Hospitals were continuing to develop their outpatient clinics—but the Prince George's County facil-

ity was the only new free-standing CMHC in the state, and it existed primarily because of the extraordinary funding it received as an NIMH demonstration project. Though it stood alone, the new center drew praise for its novel approach to mental health. Its first medical director described his seven years there as the most professionally gratifying time of his life and found treatment approaches there to be truly "new and exciting."[32] Starting with ten staff members in 1963, the clinic by 1970 grew to include more than fifty staff. By that point it had treated and stabilized thousands of patients. Had the Prince George's County CMHC been duplicated a dozen times over the state, CMHCs may well have fulfilled at least part of their promise, improving the majority of the chronic patients in the hospitals sufficiently for them to pursue independent lives. The fundamental concept of the CMHC, in the judgment of those who worked there, was sound.

Unfortunately, the center was not duplicated elsewhere. Although federal funds became available as early as 1963, and state funds were available after 1966, spending was predicated on the localities themselves making the initial investment. Both the state and federal funds worked a bit like pieces of string; while counties and towns could pull them, Annapolis and Washington could not push. Consequently, the primary responsibility for beginning new CMHCs rested with small local health departments and advisory boards, to be started with local tax revenues. In all but the wealthiest areas, the task overwhelmed these organizations.

While Maryland was not alone in failing to take advantage of the federal matching grants, certain states did better. At the MAMH 1968 annual meeting, Alan Levenson, director of the Division of Mental Health Service Programs of the NIMH, analyzed the difficulty Maryland had had in establishing CMHCs. Only four institutions had applied for grants, and only two, Cheverly and the Psychiatric Institute, were operating. Both of these predated Maryland's CMHC act. "I think that we can be proud of the two centers that have been established in Maryland," Levenson said, "but I think that we ought to be collectively ashamed of the fact that we still have no more than two."[33]

Levenson noted that grants had been made to establish more than three hundred CMHCs and that a hundred were already in operation. Choosing Kentucky for comparison, he listed the statistics of that state's CMHC program. Kentucky had twelve CMHCs to Maryland's two. "In Kentucky they have used a combination of local and state resources to develop a community mental health program which essentially blankets the entire state. Comprehensive community mental health services are available in the cities of Kentucky, and they are also available in some of the most isolated rural areas of the state. We certainly have nothing like that to point to here in Maryland."[34]

Likewise, he compared the services Baltimore could offer with those available in Philadelphia, noting, "I am afraid that those of us who live in Maryland are the losers in comparisons of this type." Baltimore had one community mental health

State Senator Harry Hughes negotiated with mental health advocates as they lobbied for tax increases in 1968. (Maryland State Archives.)

center; Philadelphia "now can boast a network of ten.... [which] serve almost the entire city and ... provide the kind of mental health services that is needed by the residents of any city. Certainly the need for such services throughout Baltimore is just as great as it is throughout Philadelphia."[35]

In fact, Maryland ranked thirty-second among states in the level of spending on mental patients, just thirty-six cents per person per year on community mental health for the state when the national average was more than twice that. Worse, the figure of thirty-six cents represented the combined total of state and local spending.

Alice Tobler, who was in attendance at the meeting, rebutted some of Levenson's remarks. She noted that Montgomery and Allegheny Counties and the Eastern Shore were all in the planning stages of CMHCs and that Wicomico County was also planning to apply for state and federal funds to build a satellite clinic of Eastern Shore Hospital. Tobler admitted, however, that the funding guidelines were restrictive. "The federal grants are available to develop programs which have the five parts of a community mental health center—inpatient care, outpatient care, partial hospitalization which includes day care, community consultation and 24-hour emergency service," she noted. But "for some of the communities in Maryland it is very difficult to develop the five components all at once, and so they cannot always qualify for federal funds, even if federal funds are available."[36]

State Senator Harry Hughes, also in attendance, discussed the difficulty of passing new tax legislation. Noting that the General Assembly was in "no mood to

pass any tax at all," he predicted a "violent reaction" to imposing any tax program that year of any nature. He also warned the gathering that the wealthier counties and Baltimore were tiring of having their tax revenues redistributed to the poorer sections of the state. "It is getting more difficult each year to pass programs that are based on equalization," he complained. "The City and the large metropolitan counties want to get back as much as they put in." Tobler responded that demonstration grants, to be used as seed money, must be made available to the localities to persuade them of the attributes of community mental health. "The concept of a range of community mental health services is so new," she argued, "it can best be explained by demonstrating how it works and for this it is beneficial to start on a state financed basis working gradually into a state-local matching, whatever the matching turns out to be."[37]

Congress was aware of the program's shortcomings. In a 1969 report to the House of Representatives, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce noted that many cities were finding it "extremely difficult" to fund the programs and were considering ending them.[38] The committee recommended that in addition to extending all programs an additional three years through 1973, broad new allowances be made for alcohol and narcotics abuse programs, and funding of up to 90 percent of the cost of the centers be approved for officially designated impoverished areas constructing CMHCs. Despite the committee's recognition of the problems that many communities encountered in raising enough local money to qualify for federal matching grants, Congress retained the cap of two-thirds of the total cost of construction.[39]

A Failure of Will

In 1969 Marvin Mandel ascended to the governorship of Maryland in the wake of Spiro Agnew's departure to become Richard M. Nixon's vice-president. In January, before Mandel was even sworn into office, George Wills, Sawyer's successor as head of the legislative committee of the MAMH, began to organize a letter-writing campaign to sway the new governor toward a more sympathetic view of mental health. "Governor Mandel can make adjustments and add to the proposed budget, left by Governor Agnew, funds for the community mental health program," Wills wrote to the chapter presidents that January. "Our job at the moment is to convince the new governor of the importance of these funds."[40]

Of highest priority for Wills was the passage of an amendment to the Maryland Community Mental Health Centers Act which would place the entire onus of local financing for CMHCs on the state, with no contribution necessary from localities. The bill addressed what everyone realized to be the fundamental problem with the CMHC program: the unwillingness of the counties and municipalities to invest large sums of money in starting CMHCs. The costs for most counties

were prohibitive, and the program was perceived as too daring (as Tobler had pointed out) to allow local council members to take the type of political risk necessary for the centers' construction.

Taking their lead from the state organization, the local chapters of the MAMH in turn urged their members to do their best to persuade local state senators and delegates to pass the amendment. "As a friend of mental health," ran one circular put out by the Montgomery County association, "consider yourself an evangelist. Spread the word to your friends and, even more desirable, to any organizations which might lend their support. Mr. and Mrs. Blank can triple their own efforts if they first call a legislator, then write a personal note, and follow that with a plea to her women's club and his civic organization to endorse the legislation. (And don't forget to keep bugging the organization's secretary to get a copy of that endorsement to the delegation!)"[41]

Mandel was sympathetic to the pleas. Long an advocate of improved mental health care, he had a natural predilection to increase allocations for CMHCs, constrained only by the limits of the state revenues. Requesting $1.8 million for community mental health care that year, he pleaded before the General Assembly in February, "I need your help in the area of mental health. . . . Plans were worked out for community mental health centers, but funds were not provided." The assembly responded by allocating the full amount and then passing unanimously the amendment to provide for full state financing of CMHCs. The MAMH celebrated the decision, and deemed the bill "crucial to the advancement of community services."[42] It was a propitious moment for community mental health care in Maryland.

The victory, however, was illusory. Despite the increase in CMHC funding in the state budget, the level was only a fraction of the amount estimated by the DMH to be necessary to maintaining the CMHC program as originally envisioned. The total DMH budget for 1969 was over $56 million, which meant that the entire sum allocated by the state for community mental health was slightly more than 3 percent of the total funding for mental health. Considering that the original vision for community mental health had been a near total eclipse of large psychiatric hospitals, the fact that ninety-seven cents of every dollar spent on mental health in Maryland was still going to the hospitals in 1969 was a severe refutation of the planners' hopes. The MAMH was well aware of these statistics. Its annual report for 1969 read, "Pleased as we are with the appropriation for the community mental health program in budget year 1970, we must still face the fact that it is approximately one-fourth the amount of money which the DMH estimated it needed to put its 1969–70 plan into operation." They responded by quixotically demanding over $4 million for CMHCs the following year.[43]

For Maryland's mental health program the decade ended with a critical speech by NIMH deputy director Bertram Brown, in which he told assembled delegates

at the annual MAMH legislative meeting that in the past ten years the state's programs had gone "from average or slightly above, downhill to true mediocrity." Comparing the state to others of similar per capita income, Brown noted that Maryland had made "relatively little progress in coping with problems of alcoholism, mental health services for juvenile offenders, and public health after-care services for patients discharged from mental hospitals."[44] The state's per capita spending of twelve dollars per patient per day had fallen behind the national average, while its per capita spending on community mental health ranked the state no higher than thirty-second. "If we had done as well as the average state," he reminded the audience which included Governor Mandel and many legislators, "Maryland would have twice as many patients out of its hospitals than it does. We have decreased our patient population by 1,300 patients. It should have been decreased by 2,600."[45]

The mixed successes of the late 1960s prompted some introspection by Maryland's mental health community as the new decade dawned. It was becoming clearer that the original vision of community mental health, as articulated so nobly by President Kennedy, was proving elusive. If drastic changes were not made in the state's program soon, the opportunity might slip away. Mandel's interest in mental health was unusual; another governor might prove far more recalcitrant to the lobbying efforts of the mental health association. Cognizant of the weakness of the program, the MAMH met in early 1970 to propose an agenda for the next decade but settled little beyond a rededication to community mental health as their "primary budget objective" in the coming year.[46]

If there was a bright spot at all in 1970 it was the appointment of Dr. Bertram Pepper as the new commissioner of mental hygiene, replacing a series of interim and acting commissioners who had filled the role in the time since Tuerk had resigned. Pepper, who had been associate commissioner for mental hygiene in New York since 1966, expressed a strong interest in community mental health, ostensibly one of the reasons Maryland Secretary of Health Neil Solomon approved him as the new commissioner. Leaders of the MAMH were aware of Pepper's impressive record in New York but remained skeptical. While they were "encouraged" by Pepper's expressed interest in community mental health, they warned that he would be bound by the minuscule increases in the budget which were "bound to be disastrous."[47] Two years later, frustrated by bureaucratic deadlock, he resigned.[48]

The Nixon administration considered the community mental health program of little importance. In its 1973 budget proposal it appropriated funding for only twenty-two new centers nationwide, a number far below the seventy-five grants per year awarded in the first years of the program. Such a level of growth would lead to only six hundred centers by 1980, significantly below the number necessary to serve the country. Thus, one of the items requested by a mental health advocacy group was that any extension amendment declare "congressional intent that the

construction/facility program be continued."[49] Such a declaration was necessary to counter the administration's desire to terminate the program altogether. Additionally, the advocacy group suggested that special provisions be made for near total federal funding for centers built in poverty areas, and that the law be reworded to allow states to purchase pre-existing buildings to serve as CMHCs rather than having to build new centers outright with construction grants. The NAMH was understandably concerned over the government's shift on CMHCs and vowed to inaugurate a major lobbying effort targeting sympathetic congressional members, but the results were meager. Congress passed H.R. 7806 in June, extending the CMHC program by one year.[50] The House budget bill, providing $15 million for new center construction and $163 million for staffing, passed later that summer, and Pennsylvania Democrat Richard Schweiker submitted a bill to extend the program in full through 1977, albeit with some new limitations.[51] Although the year extension was helpful, it did not fundamentally alter the prognosis for federal involvement in community mental health. With Nixon's attention focussed on stagflation and the Middle East, domestic programs without committed advocates were vulnerable to termination.

A fundamental turning point came during Nixon's budget message of 1973, when the president suggested that the intent of the original CMHC legislation had been to limit federal participation to demonstration projects. The assertion was an audacious attempt to rewrite history. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Caspar Weinberger mustered what little evidence he could in March of that year when, in testimony before Congress he cited points from the original committee report for the 1963 legislation. One excerpt warned that, "such federal support should be tailored as not to result in the federal government assuming the traditional responsibilities of the states, the localities, and the medical profession for the care and treatment of the medically ill." A second noted that, "this is a seeding program and admission of the fact that the great burden of responsibility rests with the states."[52]

Though it was possible to interpret these remarks as suggesting that Congress had intended that the CMHC program to be a demonstration program only, critics took a different view. All subsequent legislation and executive action in the previous ten years had supported the initial vision of a vast federally-subsidized system of centers, albeit with a hope that the centers would eventually achieve financial autonomy. Tom Plaut, acting director of the NIMH, compiled a long list of actions and federal debate that had supported this idea and sent it to Robert Dupont, acting administrator of the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration. In the memo Plaut clarified the issue at hand: "There is no evidence that either the Congress or the executive branch (under Presidents Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon) intended federal participation to be limited to a demonstration effort." He did, however, admit that Congress never intended for federal support of the program to be permanent. It had been meant to foster a complement of

centers, and then gradually be pulled out as the states and localities became capable of supporting the centers themselves. Plaut dutifully noted, "If by 'demonstration' it is meant that federal staffing support for a specific center shall be time-limited there is no question that the secretary is on solid ground."[53]

Some ambiguity resided in the definition of "demonstration," but it was clear that Weinberger was attempting to distort the original intent of the program. Irving Chase, NAMH Public Affairs Committee chairman, had testified at that same session that while the federal effort could be construed as a demonstration effort, it was with a broadly involved purpose:

> Federal funding was to serve a pump priming purpose. It was also to demonstrate to each community the merits of the program and the capability of each community to pick up gradually the financing of its own center. Congress set as its goal that a mental health center should be established in as many catchment areas as necessary to serve the total population of the country. It was not the intent of Congress when the initial legislation was enacted to assist a few favored communities to have centers and then to leave to chance the spread of the program elsewhere.[54]

Likewise, when Congressman Paul Rogers (D. Fla.) had discussed the issue with Secretary Weinberger, he agreed that the federal staffing was never meant to be permanent. He did not, however, allow that it was meant to be terminated by executive fiat. "We designed the program that way, Mr. Secretary," he explained. "I wanted to make sure that you understood it is not a demonstration program, but rather it is an active program to bring mental health care to the American people."[55]

Prior administrations had restated their commitment to the program each time amending legislation came to debate. HEW Secretary Wilbur Cohen had testified in 1967 that continued federal support was essential to the program: "We will not be satisfied until the entire American community is served . . . through the 2,000 centers planned by 1980."[56] As recently as 1969, during Nixon's first administration, Assistant Secretary for Legislation Creed C. Black had testified in committee that "the administration is committed not only to the continuation of the community mental health centers program but to strengthening the quality of the centers which have been funded or can be funded in the future. . . . We will continue to attempt to meet the goals as fast as realistic fiscal constraints will permit."[57] Perhaps most damning, if one was to take Weinberger's conjecture at all seriously, was the opinion of U.S. Judge Gerhardt Gesell writing in *National Council of Community Mental Health Centers v. Weinberger* in August 1973. "The Act was never viewed by Congress as a demonstration program to get communities to follow the examples of others and start their own centers, but rather a national effort to

redress the present wholly inadequate measures being taken to meet increasing mental health treatment needs."[58]

Such a history of public support for the program was nearly impossible to refute, yet Nixon could not justify terminating funding for the CMHCs without attempting to do just that. The tenuousness of the argument ultimately became moot when the executive branch won by passing the Health Revenue Sharing and Health Services Act of 1974. The conference committee that produced the act claimed moral rectitude by declaring that "Federal funds should continue to be made available for the purposes of initiating new and existing community mental health centers," but the claim was simply a courtesy granted to the original legislation.[59] The real substance of the act came in the appropriations: $85 million for 1975, and $105 million for 1976 and subsequent years for initial construction and staffing grants.[60] Compared with the 1970 amendments, which had provided $270 million for center construction, and $155 million for staffing for 1971–73, the 1974 allocations were slight. Instead of increasing the appropriations significantly, as would have to be done to complete two thousand CMHCs by 1980, the program had been slashed to less than a quarter of its former level. Any illusions that the federal commitment to community mental health was still alive and vibrant were summarily ended. An era was drawing to a close.

The Nixon administration, however, had a firm foundation on which to base its policy. Through the early 1970s, the CMHCs appeared to have little success. Only a small number of patients actually seemed to be getting better in the centers, despite all of the claims of the potential of the system by CMHC proponents. Suspicions were validated when in 1974 a Ralph Nader study group, headed by Franklin Chu and Sharon Trotter, published a report critical of the centers entitled *The Madness Establishment*.[61] Surveying the results of nine years of federal funds to community mental health centers, the authors rejected almost all claims of the centers' success, arguing instead that almost all decreases in state hospital populations had occurred before the CMHCs came into existence, and that in fact state hospital populations had actually increased from 1966 to 1971. Chu and Trotter found that the majority of discharged state hospital patients actually transferred to nursing homes, not to CMHCs, and that fully 60 percent of all discharged patients from 1966 to 1970 were over fifty-five years of age. By contrast, no more than 5 percent of patients served in CMHCs were elderly, proving that most of the CMHC patients had never been cared for in an inpatient facility.

The criticisms in the Nader report were manifold: most communities did not need the full five services mandated by the federal law (making the requirement a detriment to many communities). The catchment areas were frequently inappropriately defined when community boarders were taken into account, and the NIMH had consistently failed to allow itself to be objectively evaluated. In making the last point, Chu and Trotter were particularly scathing:

> Like any government agency, NIMH is primarily concerned with the maintenance and expansion of its programs. Because the institute has from the start claimed great success for the centers program, evaluation is a great liability, since any negative findings can be used by opponents of the program as evidence of ineffectiveness and failure. Moreover, as Bertram Brown has confessed, there is an inherent embarrassment in asking Congress for more money to evaluate a program whose success was all but guaranteed in order to obtain congressional approval in the first place.[62]

Despite the persuasiveness of the Nader report, a curious, almost naive optimism continued among certain members of Congress. A committee report on the 1975 CMHC amendments cheerfully claimed that "it is clear that the CMHC Act and the program operated under it has generally been a success in creating community alternatives to state inpatient facilities for mental health care." One of the most audacious claims of the committee was the fact that at that point fully one third of Americans were provided for under federal CMHCs. The claim was spurious. While it was true that catchment areas technically covered areas in which one-third of the U.S. population lived, the capacity of the centers operating in those areas was not nearly sufficient to serve the designated population. One needed to look no farther than Baltimore, one of the ten largest cities in the nation, which had only one CMHC, to understand the weakness of the boast. And while the committee was certainly concerned ("deeply concerned") with the Nixon administration's view that the program no longer required federal appropriations ("no evidence to support this position has been provided"), it seemed utterly ignorant of the fact that in the previous year a conference committee had eviscerated the entire enterprise. The committee concluded tritely:

> The committee believes it would be shortsighted and irresponsible to terminate federal support for CMHCs and thereby both jeopardize the continued operation of existing centers and eliminate center expansion, particularly at a time when a program of national health insurance is being actively considered for enactment in Congress, and when broadened mental health coverage provisions are being added to many private insurance programs.[63]

The committee convinced at least a few people of its sincerity. The Ad Hoc Community Support Advisory Group of the NIMH reported in August 1975 that it had found the report encouraging in its "clearly expressed viewpoint . . . that CMHCs have been and are a positive constructive force in improving the treatment and general care of persons . . . and that Congress wants to see a steady

increase in the number of such centers."[64] The group had heard the rhetoric without acknowledging the severity of the budget cuts. Although it was true that the administration, not Congress, had proposed the cuts, Congress had acquiesced. And although their intention of expanding the CMHC program was noble, it seemed that such intentions fell before inconvenient political opposition.

In Annapolis, commitment to Maryland's CMHC program was about as vigorous as was Washington's. Total construction funds for 1975 were derived from a new bond bill passed by the General Assembly totaling a paltry $750,000. It seemed that the state, like the nation as a whole, had never understood the true cost of improving the lives of its mentally ill citizens. While it enthusiastically endorsed the effort to bring its hospitalized patients to a better life, the costs of such a program were too high. The shortfalls in both state and national budgets of the early 1970s demanded program contraction; the programs most appealing were those with the highest costs serving the weakest political constituencies.

A fitting end to the tale is the 1976 American Psychiatric Association report on mental health care in Maryland. Members of the MAMH first suggested the idea of a report in 1971, largely as a political move.[65] The association was perfectly aware that relative to other states Maryland's community mental health program was weak, and an objective statement to this effect from such a respected body as the APA would add credibility to the association's lobbying effort. In the initial proposition, however, the association suggested only that improved information would lead to a more effective mental health care system: "We should know where to put our money for best results and how we can do better without necessarily spending more money."[66]

No action was taken on the proposal until 1974, when Governor Mandel wrote MAMH president Henry Gruber. "In an effort to maintain the mental health of the citizens of Maryland at the maximum level of effectiveness and greatest level of economy, I have directed that funds be made available specifically in the 1976 Fiscal Year budget... for an independent professional review and evaluation." The announcement led to great excitement in the association. "We have just received the most exciting news!" wrote the president to the board. The report, in addition to a statement by Mandel indicating that he was considering raising the budget request for CMHCs in 1975, indeed seemed a rare glimmer of good news. "These fabulous breakthroughs bode well for accelerated progress against mental illness in our state and are the result of many hours of work and planning."[67]

Unfortunately for the program, little really changed. The APA delivered to the governor in July 1976 the commissioned report, which merely ascertained facts that most observers had already known. The conclusions were damning: "Long range planning mechanisms and a continuing assessment of programs developed in response to planning were not evident," ran one line. Another went: "The concept of such a 'public' advisory body (Mental Health Advisory Council)

appears to have strong support. The mandate and the power of this advisory body do not appear to be clearly defined, however." Much worse was the comment: "It is of interest, and may be significant, that the Community Mental Health Services Act (of 1966) is permissive and does not specifically state that it is the public policy of the state to fully develop community-based mental health programs."[68] And on ran the report. The level of funding never demonstrated a true state commitment, there was never an obvious legislative mandate for the program, the role of public health officers was never clear, the medical schools in the state were conspicuously absent from the program, there had never been a statewide effort to develop necessary manpower, and coordination between the hospitals and the CMHCs was inadequate.

None of the APA findings were particularly novel for the DMH, or for the mental health advocacy groups. Persons throughout the state had been lobbying to rectify many of the problems for years. By the time the APA was brought in, the program was so fragmented as to make the report more a footnote to a failed endeavor than a set of active recommendations. Certainly it vindicated many of the complaints of the MAMH, patients, employees, and department administrators. For the first time, an objective source articulated the core of the problem: the state had never been committed to spending the funds necessary for the project. A brief period of hope for Maryland's mentally ill had ended, with little auguring of future reform.

NOTES

1. Howard Norton, "Maryland's Shame," *Baltimore Sun*, January 9, 1949.
2. Gerald Grob, *From Asylum to Community* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991).
3. Stern to Preston, November 1, 1948, Stern papers, 1:3, APA Archives, Washington, D.C.
4. *Spotlight*, (September 1960): 1.
5. Maxwell Weisman, "Community Mental Health Centers," *Maryland State Medical Journal*, 13 (February, 1964): 58.
6. *The Psychiatric Newsletter* [Department of Mental Hygiene] (April 1962): 7.
7. The final report of the Joint Commission on Mental Health, entitled *Action for Mental Health*, established the general goal of moving chronic patients into community settings, which resulted, in moderated form, in the 1963 Community Mental Health Centers Act.
8. *The Psychiatric Newsletter* (July 1962): 10.
9. Ibid. (December 1962): 3.
10. Ibid. (April 1963): 7.
11. *Spotlight*, (July–August 1963): 2.
12. DMH, Minutes, July 26, 1963, box 2147, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis (hereinafter MSA).
13. Ibid.
14. Interview with Alice Tobler, April 7, 1992.
15. Ibid.

16. "Comprehensive" also had another meaning. In federal parlance, it meant a CMHC that provided five essential services: inpatient, emergency, partial hospitalization (day hospitals, for example), outpatient, and education and consultation with the community.
17. "Tobler Report," 7.
18. Interview with Alice Tobler, April 7, 1992.
19. "Tobler Report," 14.
20. Ibid., 30.
21. Ibid., 34.
22. Many of the county mental health societies endorsed the plan wholeheartedly from its release. See, for example, "Maryland's State Comprehensive Plan for Community Mental Health Services Revealed," *Montgomery County Mental Health Association Newsletter* (December 1965): 1, MAMH files, Baltimore, Maryland.
23. "Mental Health Planning Conference Stirs Maryland Citizenry," *Spotlight* (January 1966): 2.
24. DMH, Minutes, Agenda 66:4, March 1, 1966, box 2147, MSA.
25. Bill 12, Senate of Maryland, January 19, 1966, "Maryland Community Mental Health Services Act."
26. *Spotlight* (May 1966): 1.
27. Ibid.
28. Sawyer to chapter presidents, May 10, 1966, MAMH files.
29. Ibid., 3.
30. "Report of the Council on Legislation and Public Policy," presented by Mrs. Burton Joseph, Chairman, to the Board of Directors, May 8, 1967, Detroit, Michigan, NAMH files, Alexandria, Virginia.
31. DMH, *Maryland Mental Health Newsletter* (March 1967), Maryland State Library Collections.
32. Ibid.
33. *Spotlight* (November 1968): 3.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. "Community Mental Health Centers Amendments of 1969," Report No. 91-735, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, U.S. House of Representatives, 9.
39. Reports were in journals as early as 1970 outlining the shortcomings of the funding requirements. See, for example, Julius Segal, ed., *Mental Health Program Reports*, DHEW, 72-9042, December 1971.
40. Wills to chapter presidents, January 10, 1969, MAMH files.
41. Montgomery County Mental Health Association Legislative Newsletter, February 1969, MAMH files.
42. *Spotlight* (March 1969): 1.
43. MAMH Annual Report, June 1969, MAMH files; "MAMH Legislative Program and Goals," December 5, 1969, MAMH files.
44. "Mental Health Setup Held Mediocrity," *The Washington Post*, January 30, 1979.
45. *Spotlight* (April 1970), MAMH files.
46. "Proposals for an MAMH Legislative Program for 1970," MAMH files. Indicative of the mood was a letter sent by Paula Hamburger of the MAMH to Mandel that November in which she wrote, "Progress has been torturous since that Historic stroke [the 1966 law], leading some to wonder if the state is truly committed to this program with such tremendous

promise both in terms of economic and humanitarian returns." November 17, 1971, MAMH files.

47. Memo on meeting with Edgar Jones of the *Baltimore Sun*, October 19, 1972, MAMH files.

48. Interview with Leonard Simmons, D.S.W., who was active in the state system at the time, April 1, 1992.

49. Ibid., 4.

50. The bill passed with large majorities in both houses: 72–19 in the Senate, 372–1 in the House.

51. Schweiker's bill provided for a dollar limit on federal funds for any given center, discontinuing federal funding for any center after the eighth year, and new standards for poverty centers.

52. "Report of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the 88th Congress for the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Center Construction Act of 1963."

53. Plaut to DuPont, July 12, 1974, NAMH files.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., 4. Cohen was testifying for HEW before the Public Health Subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on the 1967 amendments.

57. Ibid. Black was testifying before the Subcommittee on Health of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare during the 1969 amendment hearings.

58. Ibid. Gesell was known for many years as a judge particularly sensitive to issues surrounding mental illness. His father, Arnold Gesell, was a professor of psychology at Yale and founder of the Gesell Institute.

59. "Health Revenue Sharing and Health Services Act of 1974," Conference Report to accompany H.R. 14214, Report No. 93-1311, December 5, 1975, 61.

60. Ibid., 67. These figures were for initial costs; those centers already functioning received their funding through a different account for continuation costs. The 1974 report noted that those existent centers would continue to receive grants, provided they conform to two conditions: 1) they meet all federal guidelines for comprehensive centers, and 2) that, basically, they maintain better accounting records and operate more closely within their estimated budget ("the total amount received . . . may not exceed in any year the excess of the grantee's projected costs of operations over its expected collections in that year" (68).

61. Franklin Chu and Sharon Trotter, *The Madness Establishment* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1974).

62. Ibid., 106–7.

63. "Community Mental Health Centers Amendments of 1975," House Report, 48, 50–51.

64. "Report of the Ad Hoc Community Support Advisory Group," Division of Mental Health Service Programs, NIMH, August 5, 1975, 1, NAMH files.

65. Other states were having reports commissioned at the same time. New Jersey, for one, is cited in the MAMH memo as having a sixteen-month study done by the APA at a cost of $58,000, to beneficial effect.

66. 1971 Legislative Program, December 3, 1970, MAMH files.

67. Mandel to Gruber, June 26, 1974, MAMH files; T'Jon Hill to MAMH Board, July 5, 1974, MAMH files.

68. APA Report, Summary of Findings," as published by the MAMH, July 15, 1976, MAMH files.

Book Reviews

Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: A Carroll Saga, 1500–1782. By Ronald Hoffman in collaboration with Sally D. Mason. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. 457 pages. Appendices, charts, notes, index. $39.95.)

The saga of the Carroll family of Maryland has been a subject researched by a number of historians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but the articles and books have been confined to the Maryland Carrolls. The story of their heritage from their ancestry in Munster, Ireland, to their settlement in Maryland, the severity of the oppression in their homeland because of their wealth in land and money, and especially their adherence to the Catholic faith have been unknown to most readers except in isolated articles and texts. It is therefore significant that the challenge to write this authentic story was accomplished by a first-rate scholar, Ronald Hoffman, who has read and edited the Carroll letters and studied most of the primary and secondary documents that have been available about this well-known family. The author weaves the saga around the personal lives of the Carrolls, and their conflicts with the royalists in England and Ireland, because of their religion and the final exodus of some of the Ely O'Carroll branch of Carrolls to Maryland in 1688. The narrative covers the period from 1500 to 1782, but the author presents us also with the political and social history of the territory of Ely O'Carroll, where the O'Carroll clan held sway in Ireland from the twelfth century to 1782, in Maryland, indicating the deaths of Charles Carroll of Annapolis and Molly Darnall Carroll, his daughter-in-law and the wife of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

From their earliest history the O'Carrolls (a name changed to Carroll by the demands of the crown, because of the steady erosion of the Gaelic world) (25) were "threatened by territorial ambitions of rival clans" (xii) by attachment to their Gaelic heritage, by adherence to the Catholic faith, and by unjust seizure of their lands and wealth. The violent uprising of 1641 and the Cromwell invasion in 1649 were great blows to the Carroll fortune and prestige, and severely reduced Catholic holdings between 1641 and 1703. Cromwell deprived Catholics of all political rights, "forbade them to exercise their religion publicly, and severely punished priests and Catholic schoolmasters for performing sacramental or instructional duties" (27–28).

It was Charles Carroll, the settler, who came to Maryland in 1688 to a colony that was to prove a safe haven for the Carrolls and with the commission to be the attorney general for Charles Calvert, the third Lord of Baltimore and proprietor of Maryland. So eager to come to Maryland to be freed of the oppression Catholic suffered was this Charles Carroll that before emigrating to Maryland he changed

the declaration on his family crest from "Strong in faith and war" to "Anywhere so long as there be freedom" (44). Regrettably, penal statutes similar to those used against Catholics in Ireland were soon enforced in Maryland, despite the fact that half of the wealthy families in Maryland were Catholic.

Two-thirds of this fascinating book is devoted to revealing the political and personal lives of the three best known Carrolls: Charles Carroll, the Settler, the first Carroll to arrive in the New World in 1688; his son, Charles Carroll of Annapolis; and his son, Charles Carroll of Carrollton ("Charley"). The author thrives on the use of primary documentary material and this leaves the reader so enlivened by the description of his subjects that one is led to identify with them.

All the Carrolls were conscious of the fierce pride in their family lineage and their unrelenting ambition and the need to preserve it that the author introduces us to the "little Irish Manuscript Book," the genealogy of the Carroll family that had been translated from Gaelic into English. Charles Carroll of Annapolis reminded his son that, although "our family is not now decked with Titles . . . we derive our descent from Princes" (xxv). Imbued with an indomitable desire to safeguard their heritage, each Carroll always strove to position himself to the greatest advantage either in the legal field, which was exceptionally lucrative, and by carefully arranging marriages of importance with families of wealth and reputation. Yet never did they compromise their religious beliefs, and in this endeavor they were amazingly successful.

One of the many delightful portions of the book concerns the intimate relation of the father for charley, who was studying in several renowned universities in Europe. The father knew that his son was predestined to fill a world, which required vision and wisdom to carry on the task of safeguarding the Carroll legacy. This required a conviction that his spiritual, intellectual, emotional, social, physical, and personal life be carefully fashioned and tenaciously practiced. Hence, Charles Carroll of Annapolis had his son account for all the money given him, seek the approval of his father for the selection of his studies, and report about his personal, spiritual advancement and social life. Nothing could escape the father's scrutiny and attention if Charley were to become a cosmopolitan gentleman.

Ronald Hoffman's impeccable reputation for scholarship and accuracy, his familiarity with the original letters of Charles Carroll of Annapolis to and from his son, and the rich primary and secondary material he has offered in the text may prove to be the only resource for scholars—and interested readers—to consult on the remarkable Carroll family in the future. I feel it will prove a delightful and reliable study that readers, especially Marylanders, will wish to read over and over for its historical and political value, as well as for the inspiration it offers of a remarkable family.

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George Washington's Diaries: An Abridgement. Edited by Dorothy Twohig. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999. 484 pages. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $65 cloth; $18.95 paper.)

This volume represents a careful condensing of the complete six-volume *Diaries of George Washington* that appeared over two decades ago. Dorothy Twohig, compiler of this work, was a coeditor of the earlier multi-volume series and served for over thirty years as editor-in-chief of *The Papers of George Washington.* Her expertise with her subject clearly emerges in the succinct and informative "Introduction" to the contents, where she provides a straightforward and informative portrayal of the gentry who molded Washington's formative years.

It is the selected diary entries, though, that form the crux of this book. They begin in 1748, when the sixteen-year-old "GW" (using the editor's practical initializing) worked as a surveyor for Lord Fairfax. Detailed accounts by the young planter-patrician cover a voyage to Barbados, and afterwards, his expedition as a Virginia lieutenant colonel into the backwoods of Pennsylvania, an expedition that climaxed in his memorable clash (May 1754) with the French at Great Meadows. After a lapse, the entries resume during the 1760s with the battle-tested veteran married to the wealthy widow Martha Custis and ensconced on his Mount Vernon estate—actively pursuing his life-long agrarian interests and partaking of requisite recreational and social diversions among the colony elite. Washington's notations then, as throughout the volume, are virtually all dispassionate and commonplace. Fortunately Twohig has added numerous annotations identifying individuals, locations, or terms which become more invaluable as "GW" himself became increasingly involved in his colony's growing estrangement from royal rule. His alienation climaxed in Philadelphia on June 16, 1775. That date's entry states rather casually, "Dined at Doctr. Cadwaladers. Spent the Evening at my lodgings," but the editorial comment reveals that this was the critical day the Virginia planter solemnly and magnanimously accepted Congress's appointment to command a fledgling Continental Army in what he called "the glorious cause."

General George Washington's extant diaries pick up again in May 1781 and continue intermittently to December 13, 1799, the day before he died. These were years in which his indispensable leadership and historical greatness fully emerged. The condition of America's "glorious cause" was particularly precarious in the spring of 1781, what with army mutinies, Benedict Arnold's treason, unfulfilled congressional requisitions, and discords with our French allies. But subsequent events would shift the balance conclusively to the American advantage. The general, whose early entries that year report indecisive maneuvers around New York, was nonetheless able to reinvigorate his troops and to effect a coordinated campaign with his French allies, which caught the British off-guard and led to the pivotal victory at Yorktown in October 1781. Details of this decisive triumph are

cited rather prosaically, and, curiously, there is no mention in Washington's last year entry of November 5 concerning the imminent death of his stepson "Jacky" Custis. In her succeeding annotation, however, Twohig does provide a letter of the next day which nobly conveys his sense of loss.

Subsequent notations restart in September 1784, a time when Washington assumed he could retire, "seated in the shade of my Vine and Fig Tree," resuming a planter lifestyle while simultaneously caring for his stepgrandchildren, and entertaining a host of adoring visitors. However, the serious weaknesses of the Confederation government begged for his assistance, and, as a symbol for national unity, he presided over the Philadelphia Convention in 1787, endorsed its completed Constitution, and, although anticipating an "ocean of difficulties," he agreed to serve as the nation's first president. Washington's entries relate more personal concerns, such as breeding donkeys, involvement with the Potomac Company's plans to open transportation on the upper Potomac River that could expand agricultural development, and, in a separate context, greeting adoring citizens and old army comrades while on a triumphal tour of New England during the autumn of 1789.

The absence of journal records from June 1791 to September 1794 obviates a considerable part of Washington's presidency, which involved internal political divisions, Indian tensions, and menacing diplomatic problems. The extant entries during the ensuing years are highlighted by the president's attempts to resolve peaceably the disruptive Whiskey Rebellion on the western frontier. Succeeding intermittent comments neglect to depict further pressures on the chief executive, but he might well have given a sigh of relief at the conclusion of his second term on March 9, 1797, when he off-handedly wrote, "Left Phila. on my return to Mt. Vernon—dined at Chester & lodged at Wilmington." Still, "GW's" continued national concerns are quite evident in the final years on his estate that found the aging planter visiting the nearby "Federal City" that was to bear his name.

Dorothy Twohig's work, apparently directed to the general reading public at a manageable cost, is unequivocally a laudable achievement. My qualification that the entries themselves offer little insight into the innermost sentiments of Washington is clearly offset by the expert and relevant annotations inserted by the editor. Further adding to the book's accomplishments are the inclusion of germane maps, portraits, illustrations, and a "Short Title List," offering pertinent primary and secondary sources. Altogether, this volume reinforces the truth of General Henry Lee's eulogy pronouncing George Washington, "First in War, First in Peace, and First in the hearts of his Countrymen."

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Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood. By Peter S. Onuf. (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 2000. 240 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. $27.95.)

Few of America's founding fathers loom so large in early twenty-first-century American consciousness as does Thomas Jefferson. Recent scientific developments that have proven the long-rumored sexual relationship between Jefferson and his slave, Sally Hemings, have placed Jefferson perhaps not at the fore of popular American thought, but he certainly appears as a significant blip on our sensationalism-seeking radar screens. The subject of a television miniseries and the fodder for late night talk-show humorists, Jefferson is now known at least as much for his indiscretions as for his authorship of the Declaration of Independence. Yet while the tone of popular culture's debate surrounding Jefferson's life and work may leave something to be desired in the eyes of Jefferson scholars, those same scholars must recognize that the fundamental questions at the heart of this discussion have tantalized the academic community nearly as long as they have the American people as a whole. For while issues of hypocrisy and power fuel modern interest in the Jefferson-Hemings relationship, such issues have long driven historians seeking to reconcile Jefferson, the slave-keeping Virginia planter and enemy of Native American rights with Jefferson, the nation-builder and democratic statesman.

Peter S. Onuf recognizes that the questions that mark the popular and scholarly debates surrounding the president's writings, life, and work bear similarities. Seeking to address the question of consistency that has wracked the community of Jefferson historians for so long, Onuf rigorously examines the body of Jefferson's written work to gain insight into the man for whom the ideal and the practical so seldom seemed to intersect. A well-established Jefferson scholar, Onuf shows that while Jefferson did indeed commit some of the breaches of logic that academics and laymen have long suspected, consistent patterns lie within the tangled web linking Jefferson's views to the ways he practiced them.

With clarity, Onuf guides readers through the complexities of Jeffersonian thought but still manages to challenge his audience and its twently-first-century assumptions. Even the title of the book hints at the revelations within. Onuf describes Jefferson as conceiving the future of the American continent as an "empire for liberty," the union of republics, and the author quickly disabuses readers of their association of imperialism with despotism and subservience. In fact, Jefferson's conception of America's imperial destiny perfected the European quest for empire, mitigating the despotic rule that marked English leadership of its North American colonies and the conflict that had long marked the European continent. In the American empire, the union of states would be by consent and rule would be localized. Jefferson seemed to see his empire for liberty much as the Puritans saw

their city on a hill, with the Puritans evangelizing on behalf of their god and Jefferson on behalf of republicanism.

Onuf discusses the importance of understanding Jefferson's definition of "empire" in the book's introduction, and he quickly sets the stage of the role that language plays throughout his analysis. Onuf presents other terms that readers must understand as Jefferson did in order to understand Jefferson himself. Citing "nation" and "union" as other words forming the foundation of much of Jeffersonian thought, Onuf also indicates that these terms served as Jefferson's logical postulates, informing the construction of the statesman's views on both federalism and slavery. For Jefferson, the word nation referred to a people group, and not to a location, and unions were no mere connections but were connections rooted in fealty and love. Onuf makes clear that the terms that played such an integral role in Jefferson's work must be understood in an eighteenth-century context, and he ably persuades his readers to abandon their own definitions in order to grasp the logical underpinnings driving Jefferson's work.

Language is perhaps the most crucial building block in Onuf's discussion, but chronology seems less important to Onuf's argument for the cohesiveness of Jefferson's thought. Indeed, Onuf approaches his analysis thematically, rather than chronologically. And in arguing for Jefferson's consistency from his penning of the Declaration of Independence to his almost-shrill denunciation of the Missouri Compromise, Onuf describes little change in Jefferson's views over time and makes me question whether a man so brilliant as Jefferson did not change his mind significantly over the span of time covered by Onuf's work. The author rightly mentions the instances when Jefferson's logic seemed to break down, including Jefferson's belief precipitated by the Missouri crisis that an eventual diffusion of slavery across the American West boded well for America's future, when throughout his career Jefferson advocated colonization of American slaves. But the author largely portrays Jefferson as thinking, writing, and operating in accordance with firmly set ideals of nationhood and independence from the beginning of his public life until its end. If Onuf's Jefferson changed at all, he only grew more disillusioned that the Revolutionary ideals he championed and then encapsulated for posterity seemed to slip from the American consciousness.

Onuf indicates that throughout Jefferson's life, the statesman continually looked back to the Revolution and judged the events that followed in the light of Revolutionary ideals. Jefferson certainly saw the Federalist policies formed under Washington and Adams in this way. In Onuf's view, Jefferson and his fellow Republicans viewed America's future much as Frederick Jackson Turner would later describe the American past; they promoted a "diffuse and decentered national identity, constantly refreshed by electoral mobilizations that reenacted the Revolution for rising generations of patriots." While Federalists sought consolidation and the more immediate formation of a single national identity, Jefferson hoped for a

nation that was harmoniously united by republican principles and collective efforts to resist a powerful central government. According to Onuf, Jefferson's union could not be established by the central government but lay in the efforts of those united by republicanism, alike in their love for their land, tied by bonds of kinship, and linked by their ability to participate in this ongoing reenactment of the Revolution.

Of course, not all people on the American continent could participate in this Revolution. Native Americans and African slaves did not have a place in Jefferson's vision for America. Jefferson initially extended Native Americans the opportunity to participate in the new republic in a way he saw as meaningful, but their insistence on maintaining tribal customs and their rejection of European agricultural techniques limited their ability to be a part of Jefferson's republic. Native American reluctance to Europeanize informed Jefferson's Indian removal policies and prompted his ambivalence toward them. Writing that the Indians' destiny was "to disappear from the earth," Jefferson made clear that the nation's founders made no room in the republic for those who rejected Europeans' superior notions of work and land ownership.

Onuf's discussion of the plight of the Native Americans under Jefferson forms the basis for the first chapter of *Jefferson's Empire*, and the last chapter details Jefferson's views of slavery and race. Jefferson made clear his conviction that slavery was a moral evil and a crime against humanity; he made just as clear his certainty that Africans were an inferior people. Onuf indicates that Jefferson saw the existence of slavery in America as both criminal and certain to end, and the president advocated throughout his career the expatriation of slaves from the American continent and their colonization elsewhere. Jefferson perceived American slavery as a state of war between two distinct nations that could have no positive outcome, and Onuf smartly argues that viewing slavery in national terms prevented Jefferson from seeing the injustice slavery wrought upon individuals. Jefferson's insistence that the member states of his "cherished union" had the right to govern themselves free from federal interference further prevented Jefferson from working to end the crime of slavery. Onuf does not defend Jefferson, but he does show that rather than being a hypocrite outright, Jefferson's ideological commitments prevented him from acting to end slavery in the way that modern readers might have hoped.

Onuf achieves much in this rendering of Jefferson's vision of republican statecraft. In the five essays presented here, he draws readers into Jefferson's dream for America's future and into Jefferson's despair when the impossibility of achieving that dream became all too clear. Casting an eye to the present, Onuf connects Jeffersonian ideals with what America has become, and he examines the relationship between long-held assumptions about Jefferson's intellectual life and what the author actually discovered in his exploration of Jefferson's work and world. The author discovers a unity in Jefferson's thought without positing that this internal logic marks the entire body of Jefferson's writings, and in offering this complex

discussion of "the language of American nationhood," Onuf focuses attention anew on the role that federalism played in the minds of the revolutionaries and then in the thought of America's founders. This engaging and passionate work serves well as a response to the popular discussion that has surrounded Jefferson in recent years and as a significant addition to the body of Jefferson scholarship.

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Native Americans and the Early Republic. Edited by Frederick E. Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert. (Charlottesville: United States Capitol Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1999. 370 pages. Notes, index. Cloth $49.50; paper $17.50.)

In his afterword, James H. Merrill writes a felicitious appraisal of this book. The contributors to this work "are in the vanguard of an important new chapter in Native American books" (339). In an age when edited historical works have become mediocre academic fodder, *Native Americans and the Early Republic* is an exciting and readable analysis of American notions about Indians between 1776 and 1830. Each essay in this work is crisply written and filled with the kind of scholarly insight that alters traditional historiography of Indians and their ways.

This book serves two useful purposes: first, it offers a new historiography of Indians during the revolutionary period; and second, it shows how Indians have been used in defining the American identity in ways that had virtually nothing to do with Native American culture of that time. The Native American world that existed in the thirteen British colonies was turned upside down by the American Revolution. "The American Revolution," writes Colin G. Galloway, "was not only a civil war for Indian people; it also amounted to a world war in Indian country, with surrounding nations, Indian and non-Indian, at war, on the brink of war, or arranging allegiances in expectation of war" (13). After the revolution the Indians could no longer pit European powers against one another for territory or economic advantage.

The best minds of the post-revolutionary period like Secretary of War Henry Knox or Thomas Jefferson believed that extermination and removal westward were the only alternatives for Native Americans. While the disruption of Indian life has already been amply documented, these essays detail how their ceremonial, religious, and cultural life was harmed. The book dismisses as "fiction" the idea that since Indians fought on the side of the British during the revolution, the massive dispossession of Native Americans in the early republic was justified. Also, notes Reginald Horseman, "removal was defended by American politicians on the grounds that it had become necessary to save eastern Indians shattered and demoralized by prolonged warfare and by the overwhelming advance of white settlers" (55). By

Fenimore Cooper's time American Indians in the east were viewed as pathetic child-like beings whose existence depended on the intercession of white leaders.

The brightest essay in this diadem of historical essays is that of Theda Perdue. In "Native American Women in the Early Republic," Perdue writes compellingly of the sexual and social stereotypes white Americans used to reduce Native American women to the status of ignorant over-sexed squaws. Contradicting this stereotype, Perdue's research shows that while Native American women had their own notions about sex, marriage, and occupational preference, they need to be viewed in terms of their own culture and beliefs. Euro-American men were so concerned with Indian women's depilated genitalia that it makes one wonder about mental stability in the early republic. Suffice to say that Euro-Americans believed that the "flaunting of female sexuality" and lack of Native American concern about the chastity of their daughters was shocking to the Americans (90–95). Native American women were hard workers; and the specter of Indian women working as farm laborers American observers found abhorrent and "contrary to the laws of nature" (115). Distorted perceptions of Naïve American women, adds Perdue, had a limited basis in reality, but these perceptions "helped create a new reality for Native American women" (98).

So culturally blind were the Americans of the early Republic that they sought to turn Native Americans into agrarian citizens when most Indians spent the majority of their time farming rather than hunting. Indians resembled more European peasants than the commercially-oriented agrarian nationalists of Jefferson's generation. Even when Indians like the Cherokees pursued accommodation and assimilation, they were ground up in the mills of racism and national expansion. Thus for the Indian, non-militant separatism made sense. Against these pressures southeastern Indians, writes Joel Martin, created separate underground Indian identities and strategies to resist domination.

Among the most important findings of this book are that 1) Indians were not exactly nomadic. 2) There was no such thing as a "wild Indian." 3. American notions of Indian behavior were powerfully conditioned by hysterical and untruthful captivity tales. 4. The allegorical noble savage idea is fictitious. Americans viewed Native Americans with the same distaste and twisted perception that they later reserved for Jews, Asians, and other remote peoples.

Today in our nation's capitol the only Indians school children see are on rotunda reliefs that telescope historical narrative into vivid theatrical images where Indian and American cultures never met as equals. According to Vivien Green Fryd, "the capitol reliefs reconstruct and represent historical realities as filtered through the imagination of nineteenth-century (immigrant) European artists" (323).

If Squanto only knew what the Euro-Americans hath wrought!

John R. Wennersten
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The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family: Volume 5, The Autobiography of Charles Willson Peale. Edited by Sidney Hart, David C. Ward, and Lillian Miller. (New Haven: Yale University Press for the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2000. 514 pages. Illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, Peale family genealogy, editorial notes, index. $75.00 cloth.)

In *The Autobiography of Charles Willson Peale,* artist and amateur naturalist Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827) discusses family relationships, successful and failed career endeavors, and historical and cultural events in the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century mid-Atlantic region. The autobiography is fifth in a series of editions produced by the Peale Papers, centered at the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D.C. In previous volumes, the editors published selected Peale family correspondence and excerpts from Charles Willson's diary. The *Autobiography,* which the editors propose Peale authored from 1825 to 1826, imparts the artist's reminiscences of his life in a chronological format. The original manuscript, probably Peale's first version of his autobiography, is held in the collection of the American Philosophical Society; the editors supplement this manuscript with insertions derived from two transcripts of the text made by Peale descendants in the nineteenth century.

The scope and content of Peale's autobiography is broad. Writing in the third person, Peale chronicles his childhood, apprenticeship as a saddler, and initial forays into painting. He also describes his voyage to London to study under Benjamin West (a colonial American painter who had settled in England), which was underwritten by prominent Maryland benefactors like John Beale Bordley and Daniel Dulany. As the editors point out, this initial chapter is notable as the only instance in which Peale recorded this segment of his life; no letters or diaries dealing with the same material exist. Chapters describe Peale's endeavors as a portrait painter in Annapolis, Philadelphia, and New York; his service in the Philadelphia militia during the American Revolution; and his founding of the country's first proprietary museum of art and natural history in Philadelphia. There is an extensive account of Peale's exhumation of a mastadon skeleton in Newburgh, New York. Sections of the autobiography also include descriptions of Peale's agricultural practices at his "retirement estate," Belfield, outside Philadelphia, and his experimentation with various designs for fireplaces, portable vapor baths, polygraphs (devices that allowed for the copying of letters), and dentures.

The *Autobiography* will interest a general readership as well as more specific audiences. Peale's recording of the Battle of Princeton, the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia in 1793, and the introduction of gas lighting in Baltimore will enhance many readers' knowledge of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century life in the mid-Atlantic. There are also first-hand references to notable Baltimore, Annapolis, and Wye River families that engender a sense of familiarity with early

Marylanders. Peale's comments on the taxidermic practices he used to preserve specimens for his museum will appeal to historians of science and medicine, while art historians will appreciate Peale's documentation of the where, when, and how of his portrait painting, as well as that of his offspring. Moreover, the artist's accounts of colleagues working in colonial America and his participation in the founding of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts will be useful for art historians as well.

The published autobiography demonstrates the editors' exceptional familiarity with their subject. They supplement Peale's text with chapter introductions and editorial notes, which establish necessary familial and socio-historical contexts, and copious (but concise) footnotes. One of the strengths of the text is that the editors not only interpret and contextualize the events about which Peale wrote but also comment on what he omitted from his autobiography. For instance, the editors note Charles Willson's failure to mention his turbulent relationship with son Raphaelle and suggest the latter's untimely death may have prompted Charles Willson to begin his autobiography in the first place.

This text is well-documented and illustrated, which makes it very readable, although it is occasionally difficult to distinguish visually the editors' notes and extended footnotes from the autobiography itself. The editors state in their introduction that Peale's autobiography is not as intellectually sophisticated as that of his contemporary, Benjamin Franklin. But, Peale's "novel," as he referred to it, can (and should) be interpreted with regard to the history, intention, and meaning of the genre. Peale's *Autobiography* will assume its place alongside the preceding volumes of Peale family documents as a valuable record of early American art, society, and history, recounted through the perspective of an extraordinarily talented and diverse man.

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Maryland Historical Society

Over the Threshold: Intimate Violence in Early America. Edited by Christine Daniels and Michael Kennedy. (New York: Routledge, 1999. 296 pages. Notes, index.)

As author of the introductory chapter "Intimate Violence, Now and Then," Christine Daniels defines the uniting link of the essays in *Over the Threshold* as intimate violence—that is "violence between two or more people who have an intimate relationship" (4). This definition allows the collected authors to examine families in the nuclear sense, as well as in the wider and more inclusive sense of those belonging to the same household. Husbands, wives, mothers, fathers, masters, slaves, servants, and even lovers are included in this catchall term that unites the book.

Over the Threshold is a strong collection, and three essays stand head and

shoulders above the rest. Ed Hatton's exploration of the 1833 New Jersey court trial of Joel Clough in "'He Murdered Her Because He Loved Her': Passion, Masculinity, and Intimate Homicide in Antebellum America"; James Rice's look at the 1811 death of Elizabeth Shoemaker at the hands of her stepmother in "Laying Claim to Elizabeth Shoemaker: Family Violence on Baltimore's Waterfront, 1808–1812"; and Trevor Burnard's analysis of Thomas Thistlewood's diary in "Theater of Terror: Domestic Violence in Thomas Thistlewood's Jamaica, 1750–1786." Each of these essays works independently to define the lines between emotions, actions, and concepts that blurred together in early America.

In Hatton's piece on the Clough murder of Mary Hamilton, antebellum America's fascination with love is examined through the ideas of love and lust, and each's role in the larger discourse of masculinity. Male readers of health guidebooks and advice manuals were told that a "pure, spiritual bond" joined suitable men and women in love, whereas men could experience a "baser, physical attraction" that served only "to denigrate women and animalize men" (111). The question in Clough's murder trial was not whether he had murdered Mary Hamilton but why he had done so. The defense argued that Clough was an "honorable and hardworking young man who fell in love with a respectable young woman," (119) which caused her rejection to devastate him, while the prosecution argued that the victim had been "sacrificed to satiate Clough's passionate jealousy and desire for revenge" (120). Even the newspapers wavered in their depiction of Clough terming him both "unfortunate" and a "demon" (116). In working out this problem, Hatton has provided a valuable glimpse into masculinity in antebellum America.

The line between abuse and discipline, as conceptualized by those involved in the tragedy of Elizabeth Shoemaker's death, is at issue in Rice's essay. Kitty Shields, Shoemaker's adoptive mother, forced her to drink a variety of "potions" that caused her death. Viewed through pardon petitions, the crux of the issue becomes whether or not Shields murdered the girl, as she was convicted of, or if her actions were merely disciplinary, as her pardon petition argued. Shields attempted to remove the blame from herself by placing Shoemaker's death "in the context of a long-term struggle for the girl's soul" (188). Indeed, Shields argued that Shoemaker's debauched ways and indiscretions should serve as "a melancholy example" to others, and "teach them to avoid the snares of voluptousness and the fascinations of vice" (190).

Thistlewood's Jamaica, as portrayed by Burnard, was a place where extensive physical and sexual violence were an "essential support of slavery and patriarchy" (238). In examining the brutal world that was eighteenth-century Jamaica, this often disturbing piece examines how Thomas Thistlewood strictly controlled the meting out of his violent punishments as opposed to other slaveholders in Jamaica's patriarchal society. Patriarchal masters such as existed in Jamaica, "stressed obedience to authority and resorted to violence when that authority was questioned,"

whereas in a paternal system such as North American slavery, "masters' violence was less openly countenanced and more often condemned as counterproductive and retrogressive" (241). Through Burnard's focus on the "violence and fear" that "entwined most forcefully in the personal relations of the household" (238) the line between patriarchal and paternal is more sharply defined.

The above essays deal with New Jersey, Maryland and Jamaica. In the entire collection, four essays deal with Pennsylvania and two more with Maryland, while New England, Virginia, North Carolina, Mississippi, and Michigan all make appearances. Rather than a weakness, the closer look the collected set gives to Pennsylvania and Maryland is a strength. The time span is also broad, beginning in the late seventeenth century and going through to the Civil War in the mid-nineteenth century. The stories let the reader glimpse life behind the statistics. The source material ranges from the expected, such as court records, newspaper accounts, family papers, and pardon petitions to the unexpected: fiction, ballads, a daily diary and even oral history records. This collection can be faulted on only one point, and it is minor. In a volume devoted to intimate violence, some essays are but tenuously linked to that topic. That criticism aside, the places and time covered, the inventive use of sources, and the rigor with which they are analyzed, make this collection valuable as both academic history and a teaching tool. Together, these essays fill a gap in early American historiography and set the stage for future studies.

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Tales of Two Cities: Race and Economic Culture in Early Republican North and South America. By Camilla Townsend. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000. 320 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. $45 hardcover, $19.95 paperback.)

In this monograph, Camilla Townsend sets herself the challenging task of dismantling long-held assumptions, based upon Max Weber's concept of the "Protestant work ethic," about why "the northern Anglo world grew rich while the southern Hispanic world grew poor" (1). In pursuit of this goal, Townsend compares two "early republican" cities, Baltimore and Guayaquil, Ecuador, between 1820 and 1835. By examining the similarities and differences in the economic, social, political, and cultural structures that developed in these cities, she hopes to explain the long-standing divergence in hemispheric economic development in terms not of stereotypes of religious and national differences but of economic culture, which she defines as the ways in which people's beliefs and behaviors affect the economy.

Townsend explores the worlds of Guayaquil and Baltimore in three pairs of chapters, in which she visits the elites of each city, then the middling sorts, and

finally the poor, presenting at every turn an intensely vivid picture of the material lives, beliefs, passions, anxieties, and hopes of men and women, white, black, Indian, and mixed, at home, at work, and at leisure. As she moves down the socio-economic ladder, she finds that, at the level of the elite, Baltimoreans and Guayaquilenos were in many ways quite similar in their habits of and attitudes towards work. The Guayaquilenos were not decadent grandees who scorned work, but instead were a hard-working and ambitious group, many of whom were fervent in commitment to their nationalistic and republican ideals. Baltimoreans, though similarly energetic and shrewd in their business dealings, seem by comparison somewhat "profligate and luxurious" in this post-Revolutionary generation, a "brittle hierarchy" whose members were wracked with envy and insecurity regarding their social and economic position (129).

These differences between the two elites are minimal compared to the gap that separated the Guayaquil middle class from that of Baltimore and the gulf between the two cities' poorest residents. The Baltimore middle class was more affluent than its Guayaquil counterpart and considered itself an integral part of the local polity and economy, feeling entitled to respect, attention, and service from the municipal administration. Believing strongly in the economic importance and civic virtue of artisan labor, the middling sort asserted themselves by forming volunteer fire companies and military brigades and founding a Mechanics' Bank to assist working people in making small investments in their own future. Even the poor of Baltimore, many of whom were free blacks who labored under political and economic restrictions, had sufficient discretionary income and access to small amounts of credit to help them through temporary difficulties and allow them to enjoy such comparative luxuries as shoes, household furniture, and occasional visits to taverns, theatres, and sporting events. The poor of Guayaquil, by contrast, received such inadequate wages for their labor that they had little chance to save, invest, or consume goods beyond the barest necessities, and any economic downturn or personal crisis could leave them destitute. The middle classes faced fewer privations, but, unlike the Baltimoreans, had little chance to move up the socio-economic ladder, as craft guilds restricted artisans' opportunity and an oversupply of literate workers depressed salaries for clerical workers. In Baltimore, most residents could hope to better themselves, and those who failed to do so could at least rely upon the charity of the municipally funded almshouse. In Guayaquil, though, a small elite held a monopoly not only on capital but on political agency, and few born outside the favored group were likely to attain membership among the *personas decentes*, or people meriting respect.

In explaining the divergence of economic and class development between these two cities, Townsend wants to avoid what she sees as the trap of Weberian religious/cultural stereotypes, but she fails to find anything replace these ideas as an explanatory framework. She does a good job of showing that the class structure of

Guayaquil deprived the majority of the population from achieving anything but the most meager standard of living, but she does not explain why this situation persisted. Baltimoreans feared that a deprived underclass that had little hope of improvement would rebel, and this anxiety, perhaps as much as any sense of an inclusive public sphere, encouraged employers, investors, and officials to pay their workers a living wage and to provide a rudimentary safety net for those whose circumstances prevented them, temporarily or permanently, from supporting themselves. Why were privileged Guayaquilenos less apprehensive about the possibility that the hordes of the disadvantaged would express their fear and resentment by attacking the rich? What sorts of assumptions might the lower classes have held which would have forestalled them from demanding what they might have seen as their due, in terms of money, respect, or political power? Despite her meticulous analysis of the macro- and microeconomics of Guayaquil society, Townsend fails to present a satisfying explanation of the lack of broadly based resistance among the lower classes, and this failure encourages the reader to fall back upon the Weberian idea of an innate difference between Protestant and Catholic cultures which Townsend hopes to dispel.

Although *Tales of Two Cities* is ultimately unable to provide meaningful answers to some of the intensely challenging questions its author poses, the book is laudable in its ambitious scope, graceful writing, and extensive and meticulously documented archival research. Scholars of North and South America alike will learn much from Camilla Townsend's vivid and sympathetic depiction of the lives of the people in two of the most important cities in the early republican Americas.

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Kathleen Ernst, *"Too Afraid Too Cry": Maryland Civilians in the Antietam Campaign.* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1999. 320 pages. Illustrations, index. $24.95.)

In his foreword to Kathleen Ernst's recent book, *Too Afraid To Cry: Maryland Civilians in the Antietam Campaign,* Ted Alexander makes a point that may surprise many civil war historians and buffs. Alexander, the historian at Antietam National Battlefield, writes that the nearby Sharpsburg area was the first organized American community to suffer both from combat and the sustained presence of two opposing armies. The combat was, of course, the September 1862 battle of Antietam, well known as the bloodiest day in American history.

Ernst tells us that her book is one of stories. In so doing she observes the trend to explain history through the eyes of common people, rather than those of the generals, presidents, kings, and other eminencies who have fueled traditional historical narrative. Ernst has dug deep into the letters, diaries, I-was-there personal

accounts, and oral histories of the days immediately before and after Antietam, as well as during the carnage itself. Ample photographs give human form to the names encountered throughout the book. The result is a smoothly written work that blends the military and civilian dimensions of Lee's invasion of Maryland that, on a golden September day, etched into national memory names such as the Dunker Church, the Cornfield, the Sunken Road, and Burnside's Bridge.

Some of these stories illuminate dark subjects. Ernst's discussion of slavery in Frederick and Washington Counties in the first chapter reminds us that it was more prevalent in Western Maryland than we realize—the 1860 census recorded over 1,400 slaves in Washington County and more than 3,200 in Frederick County. That there were then still three slave-selling sites in Hagerstown suggests that this region of Maryland was populated by more than unionist German immigrants who opposed slavery. Ernst might have given more context to her discussion by citing the definitive work on nineteenth-century Maryland slavery, Barbara Fields's *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground.*

The devastating psychological and economic impacts of the Antietam campaign on hapless Maryland civilians living in towns such as Sharpsburg, Middletown, and Keedysville are powerfully told through anecdote. The words of Allen Sparrow and Alexander Root convey their terror during the fighting in the passes of South Mountain, which preceded Antietam by a few days. Ernst's vivid account of the Battle of South Mountain sets the stage for the following days (and includes the tale of the exhausted soldier who shared a blanket with a comrade, only to learn at sunrise that he'd slept with a corpse). Readers would be better able to follow the battle accounts had maps showing topography and troop movements been included throughout the book.

The eighth chapter concludes movingly with accounts of area civilians coping with a landscape that had changed dramatically in the preceding two weeks. Their short-term travails included suspicious federal troops on the lookout for renegade rebels and anyone thought to be helping them; longer-term, of course, these hapless folks faced years of rebuilding and, in some cases, economic ruin because of the battle.

The last two chapters of *Too Afraid To Cry* venture beyond the Antietam campaign. Lacking the depth of the first eight, they summarize the impact of the Confederate 1863 Gettysburg and 1864 Monocacy campaigns on the region. Chapter nine begins in 1863 with federal conscription in the region, then rapidly moves to Lee's passage through the area on his way to Gettysburg, where the battle is touched upon only briefly, through the eyes of several locals. Post-Gettysburg skirmishes in the area get a mention, followed by the rebel retreat. Jubal Early's raid through the area in July 1864, en route to Washington, concludes the chapter. The treatment of these latter campaigns seems a cursory afterthought given the compelling details surrounding Antietam that comprise the book's theme.

Ernst returns to the subject of slavery in her last chapter. She describes the impact of the Antietam and Gettysburg campaigns on the "peculiar institution" and local reaction to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. She relates how free blacks and slaves were recruited into the Union army. Harrowing extracts from the diary of Otho Nesbitt, a Clear Spring slaveowner and unionist, tell of kidnapped blacks taken south by retreating rebels. Though the Confederates are known to have done this at times (as in 1863, in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania), Ernst has unearthed a compelling eyewitness account of black abductions by rebels during their three major sojourns into Maryland during the Civil War. Her account also prompts us to remember that pro-union did not always mean anti-slavery.

Letters and diaries describe the unrelenting efforts of families to rebuild homes, farms and lives shattered by the battle. Men returned from soldiering to farm again; a few were lucky enough to marry the sweethearts they had left behind. Plowers of fields unearthed the bones of the dead, and legend claims that bloodstains in field and hearth mysteriously reappeared for years. Poignant reunions of veterans and civilians include the account of Middletown's Kate Rudy visiting the newly elected Rutherford B. Hayes, whose injured shoulder at South Mountain her family had nursed.

Too Afraid to Cry is poorly referenced in places. Ernst throughout cites secondary works that themselves cite original sources, but her notes frequently provide only the former. Worse are references improperly cited. On page 194, for example, the author refers to the relief civilians felt following the departure of the union army, and gives as her source pages 244–45 of an unpublished dissertation. But those pages do not contain that information. The same page mistakenly attributes the scholar's prose to that of an 1862 *New York Times* reporter. And Stephen Sears's *Landscape Turned Red*, perhaps the definitive work on the battle of Antietam, is improperly assigned a quotation—"the whole country forlorn and desolate" does not appear on page 34 of that book, as Ernst's page 194 says it does. Another problem appears on pages 45 and 50, where the author quotes William Owen of the Washington Artillery of New Orleans. She cites as her sources not Owen himself but Murfin's *The Gleam of Bayonets*—while listing Owen in her own bibliography (albeit with incorrect title, publisher and publication year). There are also inconsistencies in the treatment of misspellings inside original quotations—on page 23 the author corrects the misspelling of "privilege," yet on page 45 she lets stand the misspelling, "permiscus."

Nevertheless, Kathleen Ernst has knit a splendid archival tapestry that enriches our grasp of the seamy underside of war—the suffering of everyday people caught in the crosshairs of America's bloodiest day. Many stories of Maryland's pivotal role in the Civil War await telling, and *Too Afraid To Cry* shows us how captivating they are coming straight from the mouths of Marylanders.

Charles W. Mitchell
Baltimore

To the North Anna River: Grant and Lee, May 13–25, 1864. By Gordon C. Rhea. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000. 568 pages. Appendix, notes, index. $34.95.)

Gordon Rhea prefaces the epilogue to his new book on the spring 1864 campaign in Virginia with a quotation describing the posture of Grant's and Lee's armies on May 25: "Two schoolboys trying to stare each other out of countenance." Most readers of military history will instinctively understand the type of argument this forecasts—a test of wills between two mighty generals. But those readers who take that quotation as the message of Rhea's volume will be missing a great deal.

Rhea writes excellent traditional military history, but in many ways he reshapes the conventional story of this vital campaign. His accounts of specific engagements draw just as heavily from soldiers' diaries (and more problematically, from their less-reliable memoirs) as from the *Official Records* and officers' reports. He narrates the sequence of battles from the perspectives of generals on the hills, officers in charge, and men on the line. Perhaps more importantly, the evidence Rhea has amassed and the analysis he presents emphasize the role of contingency in the outcome of the campaign. The book itself focuses on a period, May 13–25, 1864, during which both sides missed opportunities and narrowly avoided catastrophes. After Union General Philip Sheridan defeated Jeb Stuart's troopers at Yellow Tavern, his forces marched to the edge of Richmond but, without reinforcements, turned away to join the sedentary Benjamin Butler southeast of the city. Grant missed an excellent opportunity to attack a Confederate weak spot on the fourteenth because of rain, exhaustion and slumping morale after the hard fighting of the previous two weeks. The footrace to the North Anna also revealed the role of chance; neither side knew what the other was doing, and both pursued their own goals with trepidation. Rhea helps turn our attention away from the big engagements (Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Cold Harbor) that traditionally dominate treatments of the Overland campaign. He focuses on the smaller but equally brutal fights that occurred every day, such as Ewell's May 19 assault on the Union right at Harris Farm.

Rhea offers an even-handed assessment of why events turned out as they did. For the North, he emphasizes the ineffective officers Grant inherited with the Army of the Potomac as well as the unhealthy personal dynamics among Grant, Meade and Burnside. The movement to the North Anna proceeded chaotically because of Union officers' inaccurate maps, bad weather, and road conditions, and because Sheridan's cavalry, which could have given Grant advice about Lee's position, was absent for most of the episode. On the positive side, Rhea notes the role of escaped slaves in directing Grant's army and providing information on Lee's intentions. The Army of Northern Virginia was confident but badly weak-

ened in both enlisted men and officers. After losing James Longstreet at the start of the campaign, Lee was burdened with corps leaders (Anderson, Hill, and Ewell) whom he could not trust to exercise the complicated plans needed to defeat Grant. Further, at perhaps the key moment in the campaign, when the Confederates had split Grant's army, severe illness prevented Lee from leading his army to exploit its advantage. Overall, Rhea argues convincingly that Lee and Grant shared more characteristics and approaches to battle than previous scholars have seen; both generals were wily and flexible tacticians, and hard and eager fighters.

Rhea deftly narrates the complex movements of these two large and cumbersome armies and excellent maps reinforce his story. The descriptions of engagements provide compelling reading and a coherent picture of scenes that must have utterly bewildered their participants. Rhea explains tactical maneuvers with precision and clarity, and a similar focus on the broader strategic elements and significance of the campaign would have strengthened the book still further. At several important junctures, Rhea diminishes the human role in shaping events that he has shown so clearly lies at the center of the story by interposing the mechanism of "fate." Rhea's work, however, shows that neither fate, manpower, or supplies foreordained the outcome of this episode. Where many scholars of the 1864 Virginia campaigns see only the end of the war approaching, by telling the story from the perspective of the time and its participants Rhea restores a crucial sense of human drama and contingency to this period.

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Black Social Capital: The Politics of School Reform in Baltimore, 1986–1998. By Marion Orr. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999. 255 pages. Tables, notes, index. $35 cloth; $17.95 paper.)

Baltimore in the 1990s has become a model of urban renewal to other American cities. Economic revitalization centered on its Inner Harbor, two new stadiums, and the relocation of an NFL team. This progress, however, came at a price. Funds spent on economic development left little for Baltimore's schools, making it one of the worst public education systems in Maryland. Baltimore had a dilemma—how to reform the school system. Marion Orr, an associate professor of political science and urban studies and co-author of *The Color of School Reform: Race, Politics, and the Challenge of Urban Education*, has focused his attention on the politics of the school reform effort in Baltimore. He concludes that "social capital within the African-American community does not necessarily translate into the kind of intergroup social capital required to accomplish systemwide school reform" (9).

The key to Orr's argument is his theoretical model in chapter one. He intro-

duces social capital theory, defined by Robert Putnam as "features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (3), and urban regime theory, which suggests that local government relies on "informal systems of cooperation" (10). For this study, Orr combines the two approaches to study whether black political leaders in Baltimore could form the intergroup (black and white) social capital necessary to reform the schools.

To make his case, Orr uses the first third of the book to set the stage for school reform. He argues that blacks formed their social capital in response to segregation. Social and political networks in the black community relied on racial solidarity in opposition to whites. The political culture (i.e., machine politics) provided the framework for interracial cooperation by providing jobs to blacks, primarily through the school system. From the 1950s to the 1970s, Baltimore experienced tremendous demographic and economic change as whites fled to the suburbs, blacks became the majority group in the city, and the city's economy underwent restructuring. As a result, when blacks gain political power in 1986, they inherited a dying school system and no money with which to fix it.

In 1987, Mayor Kurt Schmoke made school reform one of his priorities, touting the slogan, "Baltimore: the city that reads." The various reform efforts included site-based management (SBM) programs to guarantee graduates employment or college assistance, and private management of selected schools. All of them failed, according to Orr, because Schmoke and other black leaders failed to translate black social capital into intergroup social capital. These leaders could get support from black citizens but not whites. Hence, black social capital does not guarantee political success.

Orr has laid out the basic story of school reform in Baltimore and raised several important questions, such as the role of black social capital and intergroup relationships. The idea that social capital effects the informal workings of local government is sound, and it is clear that something more than black social capital is required to implement broad-based reform. Orr's own evidence, however, suggests that other conclusions are possible. For example, when discussing SBM, Orr notes that the concept originated in the early 1980s when William Donald Schaeffer was the mayor of Baltimore. With SBM, neighbors would control their own schools. Despite broad support, Schaeffer personally opposed the plan, used the schools to support patronage politics, and refused to adequately finance the schools. Yet, when Schmoke became mayor, he endorsed the SBM concept but had to concede to the Baltimore Teachers' Union (BTU) version, which took control from parents and principals and gave it to the teachers who feared being fired. Self-interest, not the lack of intergroup social capital, undermined the reform effort. In addition, the Barclay and Stadium School movements detailed in the book showed

that black leaders at the grassroots level *could* forge intergroup partnerships and make reform successful.

Yes, elite corporate whites were reluctant to participate in a program to guarantee employment to graduating seniors. Race was no doubt a factor, as Orr suggests, but one has to wonder what possible benefits the corporations would receive for hiring youth with no marketable skills and poor academic training. As it turned out, the school system had trouble producing students who met the minimum qualifications of attending 95 percent of the time and earning a "B" in the junior and senior years. Finally, the experiment with privatizing the schools was ill conceived. Mayor Schmoke hired a firm to manage selected schools, despite strong opposition from BTU, Baltimoreans United in Leadership Development (BUILD), and the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance. Evidently, Mayor Schmoke could not even find sufficient black social capital to support his privatization program. Political acumen, or lack thereof, has to be considered as well. More scholars need to study other issues in Baltimore during the Schmoke era to determine if a pattern exists. School reform may be the exception to an otherwise productive intergroup political culture. Hence, Orr's case study cannot be considered the final word on black social capital or intergroup social capital.

Similarly, it cannot be considered the definitive study of the school reform movement in Baltimore. Orr relied heavily on secondary sources with some interviews. Future studies will want to tap more primary materials, doctoral dissertations on the history of Baltimore, and interviews with Schaeffer and Schmoke. The story of school reform in Baltimore would benefit from additional historical analysis. Why did the school system go from being one of the best in the state to one of the worst? To what extent was black social capital the product of the civil rights struggle or other factors in the history of Baltimore's black community? How has the political culture changed in Baltimore? Historians who want to study Baltimore's school reform efforts or the city's political history in the late twentieth century can certainly use Orr's case study as a starting point. Meanwhile, political scientists and urban studies specialists will debate the merit of Orr's theoretical model.

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Frederick Community College

Books in Brief

A Maryland Boy in Lee's Army: Personal Reminiscences of a Maryland Soldier in the War Between the States, 1861–1865 is the autobiographical account of George Wilson Booth—a young Marylander who answered the call of the Confederacy at the age of seventeen and spent four years with the Army of Northern Virginia. Booth served with Stonewall Jackson, "Grumble" Jones, Richard Ewell, Jubal Early, and John Imboden. Wounded at Greenland Gap, he arrived late at Gettysburg, and thereby avoided additional injury and possibly death. The boy soldier did not keep a diary during the war but wrote his recollections from memory toward the end of the nineteenth century after a successful career with the B&O Railroad and as an active participant in Baltimore's Confederate veterans' organizations. This new edition of the 1898 memoir includes an introduction by National Park Service Historian Eric J. Mink of the Richmond National Battlefield Park.

University of Nebraska Press, paper, $12

Frederick C. Leiner's *Millions for Defense: The Subscription Warships of 1798* explores the eighteenth-century practice of citizen-built warships and derives its title from a popular contemporary toast, "Millions for defense, not a cent for tribute." In this era of merchant ship seizure and sailors' impressment into foreign navies, angry Americans in Newburyport, Massachusetts, decided to help the United States build a navy and opened subscription sales to fund a twenty-gun warship. They also persuaded Congress to pass a statute that gave them government stock bearing 6 percent interest in exchange for their money. The example set off reactions down the East Coast, and thousands pledged money to build more ships, including the sloop-of-war *Maryland*, launched from William Price's shipyard in Fells Point on June 3, 1799.

Naval Institute Press, cloth, $36.95

A Big Little Church on a Hill: The History of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Ruxton, Maryland, 1906–2000 is retired attorney Arthur W. Machen Jr.'s illustrated chronicle of a small yet vibrant Episcopal church in Baltimore County. The author, a lifelong member of the Church of the Good Shepherd, served several terms as a vestryman and chaired several major capital fund drives. Machen discusses the founding of the church in the early twentieth century and the careers and contributions of its first four rectors. The volume includes appendices of registrars, senior wardens, and vestry members. To order, contact the Church of the Good Shepherd, 1401 Carrolton Avenue, Towson MD 21204.

Church of the Good Shepherd, cloth, $24

America's Public Holidays, 1865–1920 is Ellen Litwicki's study of the more than twenty–five holidays invented by Americans between the close of the Civil War and World War I. Holidays such as Memorial Day and Labor Day are now fixed on the nation's calendar, yet others such as Constitution Day and Bird Day failed to gain popular support. The author states that the invention of these secular holidays by primarily native-born, middle-class citizens provided them with a unified civic culture in the post–Civil War years. Litwicki goes on to discuss the origins of May Day, Flag Day, Labor Day, and Veteran's Day as a few of the holidays that originated in efforts to commemorate soldierly valor, assert black citizenship rights, and forge a multicultural nation that ultimately defined patriotism as the supreme American virtue.

Smithsonian Institution Press, cloth, $30

Harriet A. Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl written by Herself* is now available in an enlarged and annotated edition. This new volume of one of the most celebrated and significant slave narratives includes "A True Tale of Slavery" by the author's brother, John. Published in London in 1861, the tale illuminates the people, places, and events described by Harriet. Pace University Professor Jean Fagan Yellin has updated her original introduction and expanded the annotations.

Harvard University Press, cloth $39.95, paper $16.95

Notices

Center for Historical Studies at the University of Maryland

The Center welcomes participation by scholars and teachers throughout Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia in its seminar program. Papers are available at the University of Maryland Department of History or by contacting the History Center administrator, Stephen Johnson (301-405-8739; historycenter@umail.umd.edu), and should be read prior to attending the seminar. Forthcoming seminars in the Center's program "The Nation and Beyond": February 12 – "Modern International Systems Theory and Ancient History"; March 5 – "Economic Development and Nationalism, 16th–20th Century; April 2 – "The Rise of Nations"; April 23 – "Frontiers and Borders." All seminars will be held from 4:00 to 6:00 P.M. in the Dean's Conference Room, Francis Scott Key Hall, Room 1102. Parking in all lots is open and free beginning at 4:00 P.M. Refreshments served.

Fellowships from the Library Company of Philadelphia

The Library Company of Philadelphia's Program in Early American Economy and Society invites applications for its three types of fellowship awards to be granted for research and scholarship during 2001–2. Available are four one-month fellowships ($1,600) from June 2001 to May 2002; one dissertation-level fellowship from September 1, 2001 to May 31, 2002 ($15,000); and one advanced research fellowship from September 1, 2001 to May 31, 2002 ($30,000). Applicants must submit proposals based on the holdings of the Library Company and in other nearby institutions. Applicants should submit four copies each of a curriculum vitae and a two-to-four-page description of the proposed research. One-month fellowship applicants must send one letter of recommendation. Long-term applicants must supply two letters of recommendation and a relevant writing sample. Application deadline is March 1, 2001. For more information, contact Cathy Matson, Program Director, at cmatson@librarycompany.org.

AASLH Announces 2001 Awards Program

The American Association for State and Local History invites submissions to the 2001 Awards Program for achievement in the preservation and interpretation of local, state, and regional history. Nomination forms may be obtained by visiting the AASLH web site, www.aaslh.org, or by phone (615-320-3203). Nomina-

tions are due to state award representatives on March 1, 2001. They are then reviewed by a national committee in the summer of 2001 with formal presentation of the awards made during the AASLH Annual Meeting, September 12–15, 2001, in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum Winter Lectures

February 14 – "Success and Failure in the Chesapeake: Town Planning and Settlement in the Colonial Period," by Prof. John Seidel, Washington College. February 21 – "Annapolis: An Ancient Jewel in a Modern Setting," by Gregory Stiverson. February 28 – "Bygone Baltimore: An Illustrated History of the City from 1729 to the Present," by Wayne Schaumburg. March 5 – "American City, Southern Place: Antebellum Richmond," by Dr. Gress Kimball. March 7 – "The Chesapeake Bay: Four Centuries of Contention," by Dr. John R. Wennersten. March 12 – "Norfolk Port During War and Peace," by Tommy L. Bogger. March 14 – "Ships, Seafood, and Hospitality: The Industries of Maritime St. Michaels," by Pete Lesher. All lectures 10:30 A.M. $5, $3 CBMM members. Call 410-745-2916 for more information.

Search for documents

H. Marc Howell is in search of information about the Antietam Iron Works located on Antietam Creek near the Potomac River in Washington County, Maryland. Letter collections and papers of John McPherson and John Brien of Frederick County for the years 1806–1853, company records of any of the owners such as the Ahls (P. A. Ahl and Brothers, Newville, Cumberland County, PA) who were the last owners/operators and sold the iron works in 1886, and any other information will be most appreciated. Please send information to H. Marc Howell, 8180 Stone Ridge Drive, Frederick MD 21702.

Index to Volume 95

1 (Spring): 1–128
2 (Summer): 129–256
3 (Fall): 257–384
4 (Winter): 385–520:
Illustrations are indicated by italics

A Victorian Village (Reese), *3*
Abbott, Carl, *Political Terrain: Washington, D.C., from Tidewater Town to Global Metropolis*, reviewed, 111–12
African-Americans:
voting in Cambridge, Maryland, late nineteenth century, 428–37
voting rights granted to (1870), 430.
See also under Brown, C. Christopher
Agnew, Gov. Spiro, 467
Albert, Peter J., and Ronald Hoffman, eds., *Native Americans and the Early Republic*, reviewed, 486–87
Alexander, Ted, reviews by, 105–6, 234–35
Alger, Horatio, 162
Allan, Col. William:
in planning of Samuel Ready Orphanage, 313, 316
Allegheny County, Maryland, 466
American Psychiatric Association:
report on mental health care in Maryland, 474
American Quilt Study Group:
2001 seminar of, 376–77
American Revolution: in western Maryland, 4–26; end of, described by Hessian diarist, 25; search for social order after, 34–35
Anderson, Fred, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766*, reviewed, 229–30
Anderson, Maj. Robert: as commander, Fort Sumter, 66–69, 74–75, 80, *82–83*, 84–87, 91, 199
Andrew, Gov. John, 195
Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 400
Annapolis, Maryland, 309
Revolutionary government in, 7–9
British threat to (1781), 135
vessels supplied for Yorktown campaign, 142, 152
lumber supply for Yorktown campaign, 149
George Whitefield visits, 393–98
Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 454, 456
Lost Towns archeology project in, 125, 370
Antietam, Battle of, 234–35, 292, *299*, 493–95
Antietam Campaign, The, Gary W. Gallagher, ed., reviewed, 234–35
Appleby, Joyce, 293
Archaeological Society of Maryland, 342
archaeology. *See* Gibb, James G.; Langley, Susan B. M.
Argersinger, Jo Ann E., *Making the Amalgamated: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in the Baltimore Clothing Industry, 1899–1939*, reviewed, 355–56
Ark of London, The. See *Ark of Maryland, The*
Ark of Maryland, The (ship), *260–63*, *264–65*, 266–73, 278–80
painting of, *264–65*
route of voyage to Maryland, 268–73
dangers on voyage to Maryland, 270–73
See also under Lowe, William W.
Armistead, George, 370
Arnold, Joseph L., review by, 349–52
At Home and Abroad (Kennedy), 303
Aull, Henry Jacob:
as founder, Waverly community (Baltimore), 3

Baker, Jean H., 292, 295–96
Baltimore, Lord. *See* Calvert, Cecil
Baltimore, Maryland, 2–3, 150–52, 295, 312
as port of trade, 29
public order in (1812), 41
denunciation of prizefighting in, 59
workers from, at Fort Sumter, 66–67, 85, 89, 91
in secession crisis, 71, 78, 80, 84, 86–89, 91
Confederate recruits from, 81
assembly of vessels for Yorktown campaign, 140–43
as supply port for Yorktown campaign, 141–42, 144–45, 148, 151–52
reception for George Washington, 143–44
reception for French troops, 145–46
map of harbor, 146

1796 view of, *154*
Confederate sympathizers in, 297
rally for Grant (1868), 303–4
1860 Democratic Convention in, 304
orphanages in, 309
industrialization in (1880s), 309–10
public education in, 310–11, 319–20, 322–24
European immigration to, 310, 313
community mental health facilities in, 451–52, 457, 459, 465
See also Fells Point, Baltimore
Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, *336*
1877 strike against, 310, 318–19
Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser, 74–75, 87–89, 304
Baltimore City Hospital, 459
Baltimore County, Maryland, 71, 134, 148, 312, 409, 417
Baltimore Day Hospital:
and community health practices, 452–53, 457
Baltimore Sun, 304
on prizefighting (1849), 51–53, 59
evaluation of Fort Sumter crisis, 79, 89
lack of faith in Lincoln, 83
on idyllic Eastern Shore life, 428–29
on economic opportunity for African-Americans (1881), 429–30
report on psychiatric hospitals (1949), 447
bankruptcies:
in Panic of 1819, 170–71
banks:
increase in number (1811–1818), 166–67
loan practices, nineteenth century, 169–70
Barker, Alan:
study of Great Awakening in Maryland, 390
Barker, Charles A., 5
Barnard, Toni M., review by, 483–86
Barnes, Robert, review by, 104–5
Barnum's Hotel, 84
Bashaw, Carolyn Terry, *"Stalwart Women": A Historical Analysis of Deans of Women in the South*, reviewed, 368–69
Bates, Edward, 193, 196, 204
Battle Monument (Baltimore), 143
Bayard, Peter, 395
Bayard, Susannah, 395
Beauregard, Gen. Pierre Gustav Toutant:
and Fort Sumter crisis, 84–*85*, 86
Becoming America: The Revolution Before 1776, by Jon Butler, reviewed, 245–47
Benton, Thomas Hart, 195
Berlin, Ira, *Many Thousands Gone: the First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*, reviewed, 98–101
Berthier, Capt. Louis-Alexandre:
map of Baltimore harbor by, *146*
Better Than Good: A Black Sailor's War, 1943–1945, by Adolph W. Newton, reviewed, 366–67
Birdwell, Tracey, review by, 242–43
Black Social Capital: The Politics of School Reform in Baltimore, 1986–1998, by Marion Orr, reviewed, 497–99
Blackstone, William:
Commentaries relating to children, 36
Blair, Francis Preston, Sr., *194*–95
Blair, Gen. Frank, *194*–96, 203–4
Blair, Montgomery, 71, *190–194*, 195–*201*, 202–6
political enemies of, 191–93, 203–5
Montgomery County home of, *192*
as Lincoln confidant, 193, 195
as border state member, Lincoln's cabinet, 196
efficiency of, 197–98
compared with fellow cabinet members, 198
influence in resolving Trent Affair, 199–200
in support of Emancipation Proclamation, 200, 203
attacks on Seward's policies, 204
conflict with Chase, 204
defense of Dred Scott, Supreme Court, 205
See also under Smith, Michael Thomas
Bliss, Michael, *William Osler: A Life in Medicine*, reviewed, 352–54
Bohemia Manor, Maryland, 389
George Whitefield's visits to, 393, 395, 398
Bonaparte, Elizabeth Patterson, 80
Bonaparte, Jerome, 80, 336
Bordley, Stephen:
as critic of Whitefield's preaching style, 394
Bowers, Capt. Thomas:
as organizer, Union Zouaves, 71
boxing:
Greek origins of, 47
Sullivan-Hyer prizefight, 47–63
Brace, Charles Loring:
as pioneer with foster homes, 312–13
Brook Lane Psychiatric Center, 460

Brooks, Noah:
as critic of Montgomery Blair, 191
Brooks, William K.:
ecological warning by, 3
Broughton, Jack:
as boxing school founder, 47
Brown, B. Gratz, 204
Brown, Bertram, 469
BROWN, C. CHRISTOPHER, "One Step Closer to Democracy: African-American Voting in Late Nineteenth-Century Cambridge," 428–37
Brown, George, *337*
Browning, Orville H., 205
Brugger, Robert J., 297
Brune, Frederick W., *337*
Buchanan, Pres. James, 69, 73, 205
Burri, Margaret N., review by, 352–54
Butler, Benjamin, 206
Butler, Jon, *Becoming America: The Revolution Before 1776,* reviewed, 245–47

Calhoun, James:
as manager, Maryland supplies for Continental Army, 144, 147–48, 150–51
Calhoun, John C., 65–66, 167–68
Calvert, Cecil (Cecilius), Lord Baltimore, 263
and first Maryland settlers, 261, 268
Calvert County, Maryland, 455–56
Cambridge, Maryland, 428–35
African-American voting, nineteenth century, 428–37
African-American population (1890), 429
as boomtown (1890s), 429
Cambridge Chronicle, 432
Cambridge Democrat & News, 428
on African-American political faction, Cambridge, Maryland (1888), 431–32
Cambridge Era, 431
Cameron, Simon, 81–82, 193, 198, 202
Campbell, Alexander V., review by, 229–30
Cannon, James, 341
capital punishment, 31–32
Cardno, Catherine A., review by, 489–91
Carpenter, Francis:
Emancipation Proclamation engraving by, *201*
Carroll, Anna Ella, 72
Cast-Iron Architecture in America: The Significance of James Bogardus, by Margot Gayle and Carol Gayle, reviewed, 230–33
Catton, Bruce:
description, Fort Sumter target practice, 69–70
Causey, Evelyn D., review by, 243–45
Cecil County, Maryland, *337,* 389, 393–96, 399, 459
Chandler, Zachariah, 202, 204, 206
Chappell, Annette, review by, 368–69
character, individual:
measured by financial success, 165, 171, 182
character, national, 167–69
Charles Count, Maryland, 136
Charleston Courier:
reports of Marylanders' empathy for South Carolina, 68–69
Chase, Irving, 471
Chase, Salmon P., 193
conflict with Montgomery Blair, 204
Chase, Samuel:
letter, Frederick County independence movement, *5*
Chastellux, Marquis François, 143
"CHATTEL SLAVERY AT HAMPTON/NORTHHAMPTON, BALTIMORE COUNTY," by R. Kent Lancaster, 409–27
Chesapeake Bay:
ecological warning for, 3
islands of, *54–55*
assembly of naval power for Yorktown campaign, 133–38
Chesnut, Mary Boykin, 66, 79
Chesnut, Sen. James, 79
Chesson, Nathaniel:
as master, *William and John,* 261–63
Chestertown, Maryland, 47, 429
Cheverly, Maryland, 464–65
Chevy Chase, A Home Suburb for the Nation's Capital, by Elizabeth Lampl and Kimberly Protho Williams, reviewed, 103–4
Chew, Henry B., 413
Church of England (Maryland):
abstention from Great Awakening, 390, 400
Church of St. Dunston and All Saints, *279*
Citizen Soldiers in the War of 1812, by C. Edward Skeen, reviewed, 115–16
Civil War, 65–91, 193, 195–206, 290–92, 296–305, 370–71
Clay, Henry:
on favorable effects of War of 1812, 161, 167
and American System, 293

Clinton, Sir Henry, 135
Close, Emily, review by, 240–42
Coercive Acts, British:
  reaction in western Maryland, 7
Cohen, Sheldon S., review by, 481–82
Cohen, Wilbur, 471
Colfax, Schuyler, 204, 303
Collins, Joseph I:
  elected Cambridge, Maryland, ward commissioner (1882), 428, 431
Committee of Observation (Frederick County), 7–9, *10–11*
  summons to appear, 1776, *10–11*
Community Mental Health Centers Act, Maryland (1966), 461–62, 475
Community Mental Health Centers Act (1963), 448
Compromise of 1850, 294
Confederate Admiral: The Life and Wars of Franklin Buchanan, by Craig L. Symonds, reviewed, 106–8
Constitutional Union Party, 203, 296
Contee, John, 71
Continental Army, 133–35
  shortages of supplies, 138–39, 144–45, 148–51
  Maryland supplies for, 144–45, 147–51
Continental Congress, 7, 24–25
Cooper, Col. Samuel, 81
Cornell, Saul, *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1888–1828*, reviewed, 243–45
Cornwallis, Lord, 133, 135–40, 147, 153–55
Council of Safety, 8, 12
Coward, John M., *The Newspaper Indian: Native-American Identity in the Press, 1820–90*, reviewed, 110–11
Cox, Richard:
  on Maryland's resistance to Great Awakening, 390
Crawford, William:
  view of economy (1816), 166
credit markets:
  in early nineteenth century, 161, 167, 169–70, 173
Creighton, Mabel:
  as supervisor of social services, Eastern Shore Hospital, *456*
Crittenden, Sen. John J., 298–302
Crittenden Compromise, 75
Crownsville, Maryland, 451
  mental health day hospital in, 457
Crownsville State Hospital:
  outpatient mental health clinic in, 451, 465
Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766, by Fred Anderson, reviewed, 229–30
Cunz, Dieter, 6
Curtin, Gov. Andrew G., 204

Daniels, Christine, and Michael Kennedy, eds., *Over the Threshold: Intimate Violence in Early America*, reviewed, 489–91
d'Anmour, Chevalier, 312
Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700–1775, by Rebecca Larson, reviewed, 356–59
Davis, Allen Bowie, 88
Davis, Henry Winter, 202–3, 206, 295, *297*, *337*
  as enemy of Montgomery Blair, 191, 203
Davis, Jefferson, 199
Davis, Nancy:
  as Ridgely servant, *422*
debtor's prisons, 172
Decatur, Stephen:
  as arranger of pardon in Shoemaker murder case, 41
Deitz, Aaron:
  as mental hygiene chairman, 457–58
Democratic Party, 293, 303–4
Derry, James W.:
  as leader of Cambridge, Maryland, political faction, 430–31
Dilts, James D., review by, 230–33
Dix, John A., 297
Dobbin, George Washington. *See Portfolios*
Dolan, Father James, 309
Dolan Children's Aid Society, 309
Donaldson, Thomas, *337*
Dorchester County, Maryland, 428, 430
  racial relations in, nineteenth century, 428–35
Dorsey, Charles S. W., 413
Dorsey, Mary, 413
Dorsey, William H. G., *337*
Doubleday, Capt. Abner, 71, 85, 89–90
Douglas, Stephen A., 205
Douglass, Frederick, 300–1, 370
Dove, The (ship):
  as tender for *The Ark of Maryland*, 269

Down the Ocean: Postcards from Maryland and Delaware Beaches, by Bert Smith, reviewed, 104–5
Dred Scott decision, 205
Duffy, Irene, 457
Dulany, Daniel:
and creation of Long Acre suburb (Frederick), 12
Duncan, John Morrison:
as visitor in Baltimore (1818), 130–31
Dunmore, Lord, 9
Dupont, Robert, 471

Eastern Shore Hospital, *456*, 465
Easton, Maryland, 429
education, public:
as bulwark against change, nineteenth century, 310
education, vocational, 313, 318–26
Egeli, Peter, painting, *The Ark of Maryland*, *264–65*
Eldridge, Winston. *See* Newton, Adolph W.
Elk River, 134
Elkridge, Maryland, 331
Emancipation Proclamation, 200–*1*, 203, 298
ENGLE, JONATHAN, "The Lost Way: Community Mental Health in Maryland, 1960–75," 446–78
Ernst, Kathleen, *"Too Afraid to Cry": Maryland Civilians in the Antietam Campaign*, reviewed, 493–95
Esslinger, Dean, review by, 111–12
"EXTRAORDINARY MEASURES: MARYLAND AND THE YORKTOWN CAMPAIGN, 1781," by Robert W. Tinder,132–59

FEIST, TIMOTHY PHILIP, "'A Stirring Among the Dry Bones': George Whitefield and the Great Awakening in Maryland, 388–408
Fells Point, Baltimore, 134, 137, 145–46
as maritime community, 30
rough culture of, nineteenth century, 35–37, 42
yellow fever in, 37
Fields, Barbara Jeanne, 292, 295
15th Amendment, U.S. Constitution:
grant of African-American voting rights, 430
Fig, James:
as boxing school founder, 47
Finley, Rev. Samuel, 394
Fischer, Dr. Adam, 25
Fort McHenry, 78, 130, 133, 304, 370
Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, 65–66, 69–70
evacuation of, 74
Fort Sumter, South Carolina:
Baltimore workers at, 66–67
fortification of, 66–67
interior, after surrender, *87*
Union flag raising (1865), *90–91*
See also under Mitchell, Charles W.
Foster, Capt. John:
and fortification of Fort Sumter, 66
4th Maryland Regiment:
in Yorktown campaign, 153
Fox, Gustavus V., 197
Frederick, Maryland, *10–11*, 149, 315, 325
early development of, 5, 12–13, 16–17
jailing of Revolution prisoners in, 5, 13–17, 23–25
Revolutionary fervor in, 5–14
gunsmiths in, 9, 12–13
treason summons (document), *10–11*
treason trials in, *18–19*, *20–21*, 22–23
Frederick County, Maryland, 136, 148, 315
independence movement in, 5–26
1808 map by Varle, 6
Frederick Herald:
comment on secessionist crisis, 70
Frederick Town. *See* Frederick, Maryland
Frémont, John C., 197, 204
Frick, William F., *337*
Friday Club, *337*
Fritchie, Caspar:
in Tory conspiracy, *18–19*, 21
Fugitive Slave Law, 71

Gage, Gen. Thomas, 9
Gallagher, Gary W., ed., *The Antietam Campaign*, reviewed, 234–35; *Lee: the Soldier*, reviewed, 359–60
Gallatin, Albert, 166
Games, Alison, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World*, reviewed, 101–3
Gardner, James, and Peter S. LaPaglia, eds., *Public History: Essays from the Field*, reviewed, 112–15
Garrett, John W., 310
Garrett County, Maryland, 461
Garrison, William Lloyd, 200, 205
Gayle, Carol, and Margot Gayle, *Cast-Iron Architecture in America: The Significance of James Bogardus*, reviewed, 230–33
Geiger, Virgina, review by, 479–80

"GEORGE WASHINGTON DOBBIN: A 'NEW' ATHENIAN" (*Portfolio*), 331–37
George Washington's Diaries: An Abridgement," Dorothy Twohig, ed., reviewed, 481–82
German immigration, Maryland, 5
Gesell, Judge Gerhardt:
ruling in National Council of Community Mental Health Centers *v.* Weinberger, 472
Gilmer, John A., 196
Gist, Gen. Mordecai:
as Continental Army officer in Baltimore, 134, *136*
dispatches to Washington, 134, 139
as recruiter for Yorktown campaign, 136, 153
Baltimore harbor activity described by, 141–42
Gist Brigade, 153
Glenn, William Wilkins, 86–87
Gorn, Elliott J.:
as boxing historian, 60–61n
Grafflin and Hardester (sailmaking firm), 312
Grant, Pres. Ulysses S., 303–4
Grasse, Comte François de:
and naval control, Chesapeake Bay, 134–35, 137–40, 142
transport assistance for Yorktown campaign, 152, 155
Gray's Inn Creek Shipyard, *140–41*
Great Awakening:
Frederick County, early 1740s, 389
in Cecil County, 1739–40, 389, 393–96, 399
on Eastern Shore, 396–402
See also under Feist, Timothy Philip
Great Drama, The (Kennedy), 88
Great Savage Mountain, 131
Greeley, Horace, 206
Greenmount Cemetery (Baltimore), *335*
Grimes, James W., 202, 206
Guasco, Michael J., review by, 98–101
Guillou, Constant, *332, 334*
gunpowder, 8, 12, 14, 149
gunsmiths, 9, 12–13

Halleck, Gen. Henry W., 204
Hamburger, Paula, 456
Hampden Improvement Association, 371
Hampton estate:
slavery at, 402–24
treatment of slaves, 415–17
runaway slave notice, *424*
See also under Lancaster, R. Kent
Handy, Col. Isaac, 339–40
Handy, George, 340–41
Handy, Henry, 340–41
Hanson, Alexander Contee, *21*
Hardy, Beatriz Betancourt, review by, 356–59
Harford County, Maryland, 136, 459
Harris, J. Morrison:
as Maryland Unionist, 74–75
Hart, Sidney, David C. Ward, and Lillian Miller, eds., *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family: Volume 5*, reviewed, 488–89
Hatfield, April L., review by, 101–3
Havre de Grace, Maryland, 89, 137, *337*
Hawkins, Ann W., review by, 362–66
Hay, John, 205
Head of Elk, Maryland (Elkton), 134, 140, 142–43, 152
Hebrew Orphan Asylum, 309
Heikkenen, Jack:
as dendrochronogist, Mulberry Landing, 347
Heintzelman, Andrea:
archaeological studies by, 341
Hershey, Rev. John, 71
Hershner, John T., 317
Hessians, 23–26
Hicks, Gov. Thomas Holliday, 70–72, 75–*76*
Hoffman, Ronald, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Native Americans and the Early Republic*, reviewed, 486–87; with Sally D. Mason, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: A Carroll Saga, 1500–1782*, reviewed, 479–80
Hohner, Robert A., *Prohibition and Politics*, reviewed, 236–38
Hollingsworth, Col. Henry:
as commissary-general, Eastern Shore, 151
Holt, Joseph, 204
Holzer, Harold, and Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Union Image: Popular Prints of the Civil War*, reviewed, 240–42
Hopper's Farm, *337*
Hopper's Hotel. *See* Hopper's Farm
Horse-Shoe Robinson (Kennedy), 291
hospitals, mental health, 447–75
See also under Engle, Jonathan
Howard, Dr. Ephraim:
as supplier of tools for Continental Army, 150–51
Howard, George, 413

Howard, Margaretta, 422
Hughes, Michael L., *Shouldering the Burdens of Defeat: West Germany and the Reconstruction of Social Justice*, reviewed, 238–40
Hughes, Sen. Harry, *466–67*
Humphreys, Col. David, 140
Hunt, Marjorie, *The Stone Carvers: Master Craftsmen of Washington National Cathedral*, reviewed, 362–66
Hyer, Tom:
as prizefighter, *46–48*, *49–56*, *57–61*
See also under Shugg, Wallace

INDUSTRIOUS EDUCATION AND THE LEGACY OF SAMUEL READY, 1887–1920," by Robert S. Wolff, 308–29

Jackson, Gov. Elihu, 341
Jackson, Pres. Andrew, 66, 195, 293
Jarrettsville Methodist Church, 71
Jefferson's Empire: the Language of American Nationhood, by Peter S. Onuf, reviewed, 483–86
Jenifer, Benjamin, Sr.:
as African-American leader, Cambridge, Maryland, 430
Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene, 454
Johns Hopkins University, The, 454
Johnson, Gov. Thomas, 15
Johnson, Pres. Andrew, 204
Johnson, Pres. Lyndon B., 471
Jones Falls, 145
Joppa, Maryland:
George Whitefield's preaching at, 393
Julian, George, 206

Keeports, Capt. George, 148
Kennedy, Edmund P., 298
Kennedy, John Pendleton, *290–305*
Unionist views of, 83–84, 88, 296–98, 302, 304–5
post–Civil War writings, 291–92
as novelist, 291, 293
gradual rejection of slavery, 291, 294–95, 302
shift to Republican Party, 292
early life of, 292–93
pamphlets against disunion, 296–97
letter on disunion, 298
"Ambrose" letters by, 298–302
admiration for Lincoln, 302–3, 305
as commissioner, Paris Expedition (1867), 303
See also under Wells, Jonathan
Kennedy, Michael, and Christine Daniels, eds., *Over the Threshold: Intimate Violence in Early America*, reviewed, 489–91
Kennedy, Pres. John F.:
and mental health programs, 453, 471
Kent County, Maryland, 46
Kent Island, Maryland, 325
Kern, Howard:
as staff director, mental health committee, 454
Key, Francis Scott, 370
KIDD, SARAH, "To be Harrassed by my creditors is worse than death": Cultural Implications of the Panic of 1819," 160–89
Kirkman, Walter, 457
Kloss, Michelle L., review by, 488–89
Know-Nothing Party, 61n, *295–96*, *297*
Knox, Gen. Henry, 149, 154–55
Koch, Charles J., 317
KORMAN, JEFF, and Anne S. K. Turkos, compilers, *Maryland History Bibliography, 1999: A Selected List*, 210–28
KRUG, ANDREW, "'Such a Banditty You Never See Collected!': Frederick Town and the American Revolution," 4–28

La Fayette, Marquis de, 135, 137, 139–40, 142–44, 149
Lampl, Elizabeth, and Kimberly Protho Williams, *Chevy Chase, A Home Suburb for the Nation's Capital*, reviewed, 103–4
LANCASTER, R. KENT, "Chattel Slavery at Hampton/Northampton, Baltimore County," 409–27
land speculation, 161, 179, 181
LANGLEY, SUSAN B. M,, "Tongues in Trees: Archaeology, Dendrochronology, and Mulberry Landing Wharf," 338–48
LaPaglia, Peter S., and James Gardner, eds., *Public History: Essays from the Field*, reviewed, 112–15
Larew, Marilynn, review by, 366–67
Larson, Eric, *Isaac's Storm: A Man, a Time, and the Deadliest Hurricane in History*, editor's notation, 258
Larson, Rebecca, *Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700–1775*, reviewed, 356–59
Latrobe, Benjamin Henry:
journal entries of, *344–346*

Latrobe, John H. B., 336
Laune, Capt. Ame de la, 133–34, 139, 146
"LAYING CLAIM TO ELIZABETH SHOEMAKER: FAMILY VIOLENCE ON BALTIMORE'S WATERFRONT, 1808–1812," by James D. Rice, 29–45
Lee, Elizabeth Blair, 70–*72*, 74, 79
Lee, Gov. Thomas Sim, *21*, 134, 136, 142, 144, 148–49, 155
  pardon granted by, *20*
Lee, Jean B.:
  and *rage militaire*, 7
Lee, Philip Harry:
  offer of volunteers for South Carolina, 69
Lee, Robert E. *See* Gallagher, Gary W.
Lee, Samuel Phillips, 71
Lee: The Soldier, Gary W. Gallagher, ed., reviewed, 359–60
Lemkau, Paul, 455, 460
Levering, David, 5–6
Levinson, Alan, 465–66
Lift Every Voice: Echoes from the Black Community on Maryland's Eastern Shore, reviewed, 108–10
Lincoln, Pres. Abraham, 190, *201*, 303
  and Fort Sumter crisis, 66–67, 70, 77–83, 91
  considerations for cabinet appointments, 196
  reliance on Montgomery Blair, 197–200
  relations with Radical Republicans, 200–6
  and conflicts within cabinet, 204–5
  conservative nature of, 205
Lisle, Dr. Robert, 334
"LOST WAY, THE: COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH IN MARYLAND, 1960–75," by Jonathan Engle, 446–78
Louis XVI, King, 138, 146
Louisiana Purchase:
  and strain on United States Treasury, 169
Lowe, Richard:
  as master, *Ark of Maryland*, 261–63, 278–80
LOWE, WILLIAM W, "The Master of the *Ark:* A Seventeenth-Century Chronicle," 261–89

McClellan, Gen. George B., 197
McGrain, John, review by, 103–4
McHenry, James:
  as aide to Lafayette, 135
McKim, John, 336
McWilliams, James E., review by, 360–62
Madness Establishment, The (Nader study):
  critique of community mental health centers, 472
Magruder, Taylor & Roberts (hardware firm):
  as supplier to South Carolina, 67–*68*, 70
Making the Amalgamated: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in the Baltimore Clothing Industry, 1899–1939, by Jo Ann E. Argersinger, reviewed, 355–56
Mallery, Rev. Charles, 395
Mandel, Gov. Marvin:
  as supporter, community mental health, *452*–53, 456, 467–69, 474–75
Manual Training School, 319
manumission, of slaves, 410–15
Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America, by Ira Berlin, reviewed, 98–101
maps:
  Frederick and Washington Counties, 1808, *6*
  plan, town of Baltimore, *38*
  Poole's Island (Chesapeake Bay), *52*
  Charleston, South Carolina, harbor, 1861, *64*
  roadstead and harbor of Baltimore (1781), *146*
  London (1658), *274–75*
  Maryland, Delaware counties, and southern New Jersey, 1757, *392*
Maryland:
  divisions in secessionist crisis, 70–72, 75, 77–79
  fears of British invasion, 136–37
  key role in Yorktown supplies, 145, 147–52, 154–55
  regiments at siege of Yorktown, 153
  voyage of settlers to, 1633–34, 261, 268–73
  1864 Constitution of, 292, 303, 411
  Great Awakening in, *388*–403
  community mental health programs in, 449–75
  voyage of settlers to (1633–34), 268–73
  political interference with, 268–70
  dangers of, 270–73
Maryland Association for Mental Health, 449
Maryland Brigade:
  in Yorktown campaign, 153
  See also under Gist Brigade
Maryland Club:
  reaction to fall of Fort Sumter, 88
Maryland Gazette, 153, 401
Maryland Historical Trust, 341–42

MARYLAND HISTORY BIBLIOGRAPHY,: A SELECTED LIST, Anne S. K. Turkos and Jeff Korman, compilers, 210–28
Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser: on British plan for control of Chesapeake Bay, 136–37
Maryland Line, 69, 134
Marylanders in Blue: The Artillery and the Cavalry, by Daniel Carroll Toomey, reviewed, 105–6
Mason, Sally D. *See* Hoffman, Ronald
"MASTER OF THE ARK, THE: A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHRONICLE," by William W. Lowe, 261–89
Masters, Slaves, and Subjects: The Culture of Power in the South Carolina Low Country, 1740–1790, by Robert Olwell, reviewed, 360–62
Maxie, Janie:
as director, mental health halfway house, 452
Mayfield, Edwin, 317
McDonogh School, 313
"MEANEST MAN IN LINCOLN'S CABINET: THE: A REAPPRAISAL OF MONTGOMERY BLAIR," by Michael Thomas Smith, 190–209
mental health:
community centers for, 449–75
federal programs, 470–74
"Merry Band, The," *432*
Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World, by Alison Games, reviewed, 101–3
Milburn, Maj. John, 79
militias, 7–9, 24–25, 136, 148
33rd Maryland Battalion, muster roll, *4*
Miller, Lillian, Sidney Hart, and David C. Ward, eds., *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family: Volume 5*, reviewed, 488–89
Miller, Tracy E., review by, 108–10
MITCHELL, CHARLES W.:
"Whose Cause Shall We Embrace? Maryland and the Fort Sumter Crisis," 65–97
review by, 493–95
Montgomery County, Maryland, 88, 136, *192*, 460, 466
Moore, Capt. Nicholas Ruxton, 135
Morse, William B. III, review by, 106–8
Moss, Kay K., *Southern Folk Medicine, 1750–1820*, reviewed, 242–43
Mount Savage Iron Works, *131*
Mount Vernon, 144–45
Mruck, Armin E., review by, 238–40
Mt. Airy, Maryland, 309
Mulberry Landing:
wharf at, 338–39, *340–41*
archaeological activities, *338*, 342–345, *346–47*
pottery sherds found at, 347
as second earliest wharf structure, 347
See also under Langley, Susan B. M.
Murphey, Judge Archibald DeBow, *166, 180*
as debtor in Panic of 1819, 161–62, 178–81

Nader, Ralph, 472
Napoleon Bonaparte, 80, 146
National Advisory Mental Health Council, 451
National Archives and Records Administration, 377
National Association for Mental Health, 464
National Institute of Mental Health, 462
National Intelligencer, 294, 296
"Ambrose" letters in, 298–303
Native Americans and the Early Republic, Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., reviewed, 486–87
Neely, Mark E. Jr., and Harold Holzer, *The Union Image: Popular Prints of the Civil War*, reviewed, 240–42
New Light. *See* Great Awakening
New York Children's Aid Society, 312
Newcourt, Richard:
pictorial map of London by, *274–75*
Newspaper Indian, The: Native-American Identity in the Press, 1820–90, by John M. Coward, reviewed, 110–11
Newton, Adolph W., *Better Than Good: A Black Sailor's War, 1943–1945*, reviewed, 366–67
Nicolay, John, 205
Niles, Hezekiah, 168
Niles' Weekly Register, 167
Nixon, Pres. Richard M., 467, 470–72
Norris, William Henry, 337
Nullification Doctrine, 65–66
Nurco, David, 456

Ogle, Gov. Samuel, 393–94, 397–98
Olwell, Robert, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects: The Culture of Power in the South Carolina Low Country, 1740–1790*, reviewed, 360–62
"ONE STEP CLOSER TO DEMOCRACY: AFRICAN-AMERICAN VOTING IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY

CAMBRIDGE," by C. Christopher Brown, 428–37
Onuf, Peter S., *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood,* reviewed, 483–86
Organization of American Historians:
publication award of, 376
Orphanages Reconsidered: Child Care Institutions in Progressive Era Baltimore (Zmora), 309
Orr, Marion, *Black Social Capital: The Politics of School Reform in Baltimore, 1986–1998,* reviewed, 497–99
Osler, William. *See* Bliss, Michael, 352–54
Other Founders, The: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1828, by Saul Cornell, reviewed, 243–45
Over the Threshold: Intimate Violence in Early America, Christine Daniels and Michael Kennedy, eds., excerpt from, 29–45; reviewed, 489–91

Panic of 1819:
literature circulated during, *160, 164, 167*
effects on public policy, 161–62
and success ethic, 162–63, 178, 182
duration of, 169
adaptation to financial failure,173–78, 182
See also under Kidd, Sarah
pardons, criminal, 31–32
table for 1789–1837, 30
Parsons, Alison, 341
Parsons, Jehu, 341
Patapsco River, 135, 312
Patuxent River, 135
Peale, Charles Willson:
painting of Washington by, *132*
autobiography of, 488–89
Pemberton, Thomas, 339
Pemberton Hall, 339–*41, 347*
owners of, 339–42
Pemberton Hall Foundation, 342
Pemberton Historical Park, 339
Pendleton, Edmund, 292
Pepper, Dr. Bertram, 469
"Perfectly Delightful": The Life and Gardens of Harvey Ladew, by Christopher Weeks, reviewed, 247–48
Peskin, Lawrence A., review by, 245–47
Pickens, Francis W., *73,* 81
Pickersgill, Mary, 370
Pierce, Pres. Franklin, 195
piracy:
as danger to voyage of *The Ark of Maryland,* 270–71
Pitts, Charles M., *337*
Plaut, Tom, 471
Poe, David, 151
Political Terrain: Washington, D. C., from Tidewater Town to Global Metropolis, by Carl Abbott, reviewed, 111–12
Port Tobacco, Maryland, 394
Portfolios:
"George Washington Dobbin: A 'New' Athenian," *330–37*
"Maryland in Focus," 438–45
Potomac, Maryland, 394
Potomac River, 135
Potter, Lee Ann:
history educator award to, 377
pottery:
Woodland Townsend, found at Mulberry Landing, 347
Preston, Benjamin C., *337*
Preston, George:
as Maryland mental hygiene commissioner, 448–49
Prince Frederick, Maryland, 370–71
Prince George's County. Maryland, 71, 136, 460, 464–65
Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: A Carroll Saga, 1500–1782, by Ronald Hoffman with Sally D. Mason, reviewed, 479–80
prizefights. *See* boxing
Progressive Era:
social reform in, 311–12
Prohibition and Politics, by Robert A. Hohner, reviewed, 236–38
Prout, Rev. Robert, 370
Psychiatric Institute, 465
Public History: Essays from the Field, James Gardner and Peter S. LaPaglia, eds., reviewed, 112–15

Quakers. *See* Larson, Rebecca
quilts. *See* American Quilt Study Group

Ready, Samuel, 309, *311*–26 passim
as Baltimore sailmaker, 312
See also Samuel Ready Asylum for Female Orphans; Wolff, Robert S.
"Ready, The," *See* Samuel Ready Asylum for Female Orphans

Ready Record, The, 314, 320
Reconstruction, 202, 205, 304
Reese, Lizette Woodworth, 3
Relay, Maryland, 335–*36*
Relay House, *336*
Republican Party, 291, 206, 430
  weakness in border states, 196
Radicals' demands on Lincoln, 200–3
  and Maryland Constitution (1864), 292
republicanism (ideology):
  roles of children under, 34–35
  and virtue *vs.* corruption, 35
  and authority of head of household, 36
  and duty for public service, 293
Rhea, Gordon C., *To the North Anna River: Grant and Lee, May 13–25, 1864*, reviewed, 496–97
Rice, James D., "Laying Claim to Elizabeth Shoemaker: Family Violence on Baltimore's Waterfront, 1808–1812," 29–45
Ridgely, Capt. Charles:
  as builder of Hampton mansion, 410
  as slaveowner, 410
Ridgely, Charles Carnan:
  as governor or Maryland, 410
  as heir to Hampton mansion, 410
Ridgely, Col. Charles:
  slaves owned by, 409
Ridgely, Eliza E. R., *418*
  particularity as to Hampton slave practices, 414, 420
  fear of slave insurrection, 424
Ridgely, Gov. Charles, *412, 424*
  manumission of Hampton slaves, 410–*12*, 413–15
  list of slaves owned by, *412*
Ridgely, John:
  as heir to Hampton mansion, 411
  marriage to Eliza E. R. Ridgely, 411
Ridgley, John, 336
Roberts, John D. *See* Magruder, Taylor & Roberts
Robinson, Capt. John C.:
  as commander, Fort McHenry, 78
Rochambeau, Comte de, 138, 140, 145–46
  and siege artillery in Yorktown campaign, 152
Rock Point (Chesapeake Bay), Maryland, *56*
Rowe, Helen:
  as principal, Samuel Ready Asylum for Female Orphans, 309, 312–*19*, *320*–26
Ruffin, Thomas, 161, 179–*81*
Russell, William Howard, 193
Ryon, Roderick N., review by, 355–56

St. Clair, Cyrus, Jr.:
  as African-American ward commissioner, Cambridge, Maryland (1888), 430–33
St. Clair, H. Maynadier(Maynie):
  as African-American political leader, Cambridge, Maryland, 1894–1946, *434*
St. Dunston and All Saints, Church of:
  as "church of the high seas," 277–*79*
St. Mary's Beacon, 89
St. Mary's City, Maryland, 125, 253
St. Mary's River, 135
St Mary's County, Maryland, 71, 79
Salisbury, Maryland, 339, 341, 429
Samuel Ready Asylum for Female Orphans, 309–*16*, 317–*19*, *320–21*, 322–29
  family pattern of, 313
  vocational training in, 313
  first applicants for, 314–18
  See also under Wolff, Robert S.
Sawyer, George, 463–64
Schaefer, William Donald. *See* Smith, C. Frazier
Scharf, J. Thomas., 19
Schell, Rev. Edwin, review by, 236–38
Scott, Gen. Winfield, 74, 77, 199, 295
Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family, The: Volume 5, Sidney Hart, David C. Ward, and Lillian Miller, eds., reviewed, 488–89
Serpent, The (cutter), 130–31, 139
Severn River, 135
Seward, William Henry, 74–75, 78–79, 81, 193, 198–200, 202, 204–5, 298, 303
Sharpsburg, Maryland. *See* Antietam, Battle of
Sheehan-Dean, Aaron C., review by, 496–97
Sheller, Tina H., review by, 112–15
Shepherd, Henry:
  in opposition to vocational training, 318–19
Sheridan, Gen. Philip H., 258
Shields, Catharine (Kitty):
  and Betsy Shoemaker murder, 29–40
  pardon petition of, 32–34, 41
Shields, William:
  and Betsy Shoemaker murder, 29–31, 34–41
Shoemaker, Elizabeth (Betsy):
  1811 murder of, 29–42
  See also under Rice, James D.
Shouldering the Burdens of Defeat: West

Germany and the Reconstruction of Social Justice, by Michael L. Hughes, reviewed, 238–40
SHUGG, WALLACE, "This Great Test of Man's Brutality": The Sullivan-Hyer Prizefight at Still Pond Heights, Maryland, in 1849," 46–63
Sickles, Cong. Carlton:
as proponent of community mental health care, *453*
Simms, William Gilmore, 293
Sinai Hospital, 459
Skaggs, David Curtis, 5
Skeen, C. Edward, *Citizen Soldiers in the War of 1812*, reviewed, 115–16
Smallwood, Gen. William, 24
Smith, Bert, *Down the Ocean: Postcards from Maryland and Delaware Beaches*, reviewed, 104–5
Smith, C. Frazier, *William Donald Schaefer: A Political Biography*, reviewed, 349–52
Smith, Caleb B., 198, 202
SMITH, MICHAEL THOMAS:
"The Meanest Man in Lincoln's Cabinet: A Reappraisal of Montgomery Blair," 190–209
review by, 359–60
Solomon, Neil, 469
Somerset County, Maryland, 339
Sons of Liberty, 6
Southern Folk Medicine, 1750–1820, by Kay K. Moss, reviewed, 242–43
Spring Grove State Hospital, *446*, *450–51*, *457*
Springfield State Hospital, 459, 465
"Stalwart Women": A Historical Analysis of Deans of Women in the South, by Carolyn Terry Bashaw, reviewed, 368–69
Stamp Act, 6
Stanton, Edwin M., *202*
enmity toward Montgomery Blair, 204
State Council (Maryland), 147–48, 150–51
Steiner, Clara, 317, *319*
stereography, *331–37*
Stern, Edith:
as "gadfly" of Maryland mental health, 448
Stevens, Col. William, 339
Stevens, Thaddeus, 202, 206
as critic of Montgomery Blair, 191
Still Pond Heights, Maryland, as site of Sullivan-Hyer prizefight, 47, *57*
"'STIRRING AMONG THE DRY BONES, A': GEORGE WHITEFIELD AND THE GREAT AWAKENING IN MARYLAND," by Timothy Philip Feist, 388–408
Stone Carvers, The: Master Craftsmen of Washington National Cathedral, by Marjorie Hunt, reviewed, 362–66
Straughn, Charles:
as progressive, Dorchester County racial affairs, 431
success ethic, 162–63, 165
"'SUCH A BANDITTY YOU NEVER SEE COLLECTED!': FREDERICK TOWN AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION," by Andrew Krug, 4–28
Sullivan, James "Yankee":
as prizefighter, 47–*48*, 49–*57*, 58–61
See also under Shugg, Wallace
Sullivan-Hyer prizefight, *46*–56, *57*, 58–61
See also under Shugg, Wallace
Sumner, Sen. Charles, 195, 198, 202, 204, 206
Supreme Court, U. S.:
Dred Scott case in, 205
Swallow Barn (Kennedy), 291, *301*
Symonds, Craig L., *Confederate Admiral: The Life and Wars of Franklin Buchanan*, reviewed, 106–8

Talbot, William A., *337*
Tales of Two Cities: Race and Economic Culture in Early Republican North and South America, by Camilla Townsend, reviewed, 491–93
Taney, Justice Roger B.:
and Dred Scott decision, 205
Tariff of Abomination:
nullification reaction to, 65–66
Tawes, Gov. J. Millard, *461*
on significance of mental health centers legislation, 462
Taylor, Cadmus, 341
3rd Maryland Regiment:
in Yorktown campaign, 153
33rd Battalion, Maryland Militia
muster roll of, *4*
"'THIS GREAT TEST OF MAN'S BRUTALITY': THE SULLIVAN-HYER PRIZEFIGHT AT STILL POINT HEIGHTS, MARYLAND, IN 1849," by Wallace Shugg, 46–63
Thomas Swann (ship):
in transport of Confederate recruits, 81
Thompson, Bruce, review by, 497–99
Tidwater & Susquehanna Canal Company, *337*
Tilghman, William, 32
Tilton, Capt. Edward G., 79

TINDER, ROBERT W., "Extraordinary Measures: Maryland and the Yorktown Campaign," 132–59
"TO BE HARRASSED BY MY CREDITORS IS WORSE THAN DEATH": CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE PANIC OF 1819," by Sarah Kidd, 160–89
To the North Anna River: Grant and Lee, May 13–25, 1864, by Gordon C. Rhea, reviewed, 496–97
Tobler, Alice:
as head, planning unit for community mental health, 454–61, 466
Tobler Report:
on community mental health centers, 458–60
"TONGUES IN TREES: ARCHAEOLOGY, DENDROCHRONOLOGY, AND THE MULBERRY LANDING WHARF," by Susan B. M. Langley, 338–48
Too Afraid to Cry: Maryland Civilians in the Antietam Campaign, by Kathleen Ernst, reviewed, 493–95
Toomey, Daniel Carroll, *Marylanders in Blue: the Artillery and the Cavalry*, reviewed, 105–6
Townsend, Camilla, *Tales of Two Cities: Race and Economic Culture in Early Republican North and South America*, reviewed, 491–93
"TRANSFORMATION OF JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY, THE: MARYLAND, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, AND THE CIVIL WAR," by Jonathan Wells, 291–307
Trumbull, Lyman, 206
Tuerk, Isidore:
as Maryland commissioner of mental health, *449*, 451–55, 464
TURKOS, ANNE S. K., and JEFF KORMAN, compilers, *Maryland History Bibliography,: A Selected List*, 210–28
Turner, Dr. T. B., 454
Twohig, Dorothy, *George Washington's Diaries: An Abridgement*, reviewed, 481–82

Union Image, The: Popular Prints of the Civil War, by Mark E. Neely, Jr., and Harold Holzer, reviewed, 240–42
University of Maryland:
Center for Historical Studies, 377
Upper Marboro, Maryland, 394

Van Buren, Pres. Martin, 195
Van Sickle, James, 317
Varle, Charles:
1808 map by, *6*
violence, domestic, 29, 315
law related to, early nineteenth century, 36

Wade, Benjamin, 202, 206
Wallis, Severn Teackle, *337*
Walsh, Robert:
letter, on post–War of 1812 trade, 168–69
Wampler, John Morris. *See* Kundahl, George G.
War of 1812, 162, 168–69, 199, 293
"transitional" economic period following, 165–66
favorable effects stated by Henry Clay, 167
Ward, David C., Sidney Hart, and Lillian Miller, eds., *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family: Volume 5*, reviewed, 488–89
Washington, George, 25, 136, 481–82
Peale painting of, at Yorktown, *132*
Yorktown campaign of, *132*–55
received in Baltimore before Yorktown, 143–44
gratitude for Maryland supplies, 155
See also under Tinder, Robert W.
Washington County, Maryland, *6*, 19, 21–22, 136, 148, 460–61
Washington Monument (Baltimore), *330*, 333
Washington National Cathedral. *See* Hunt, Marjorie
wealth, individual, 168
wealth, national, *167*
Weed, Thurlow, 195, *203*
Weeks, Christopher, *"Perfectly Delightful": The Life and Gardens of Harvey Ladew*, reviewed, 247–48
Weinberger, Caspar, 470–71
Welles, Gideon, 192–93, 198
WELLS, JONATHAN, "The Transformation of John Pendleton Kennedy: Maryland, the Republican Party, and the Civil War," 291–307
Wennersten, John R., reviews by, 110–11, 486–87
Werline, Albert:
on Great Awakening in Maryland, 390
Whetstone Point (Baltimore), 133, 148
Whig Party, 196, 291–95, 203, *295*
demise of (1850s), 295
White, Father Andrew:
account of voyage of *The Ark of Maryland*, 270–73
White, Henry, 413

Whitefield, George:
and Maryland religious awakenings, *388–403*
See also under Feist, Timothy Philip
Whitehorn, John C., 455, 457
Whittingham, Bishop William, 72
Whittington, J. S., 317
"WHOSE CAUSE SHALL WE EMBRACE? MARYLAND AND THE FORT SUMTER CRISIS," by Charles W. Mitchell, 65–97
Wicomico County, Maryland, 339, 342, 399, 466
Wicomico River, 339
Wilkes, Capt. Charles:
and Trent Affair, 199
William and John (ship), 261–63, *266–67*, 268
William Donald Schaefer: A Political Biography, by C. Frazier Smith, reviewed, 349–52
William Osler: A Life in Medicine, by Michael Bliss, reviewed, 352–54
Williams, Glenn, review by, 115–16
Williams, Kimberly Protho, and Elizabeth Lampl, *Chevy Chase, A Home Suburb for the Nation's Capital*, reviewed, 103–4
Williams, T. Harry:
appraisal of Lincoln's conservatism, 205
Williamsburg, Virginia, 149
Wilmot Proviso, 294
Wilson, Sen. Henry:
as enemy of Montgomery Blair, 191
WOLFF, ROBERT S., "Industrious Education and the Legacy of Samuel Ready, 1887–1920," 308–29
Wollon, James, 334

Yellott, Coleman, 69
yellow fever:
in Fells Point, Baltimore, 37
Yorktown, Virginia, *132*, 140
See also Washington, George: Yorktown campaign of

Zacek, Natalie, review by, 491–93
Zmora, Nurith:
comparative study of Baltimore orphanages by, 309, 312

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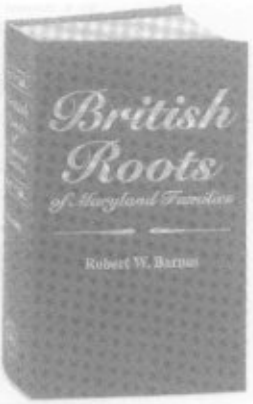

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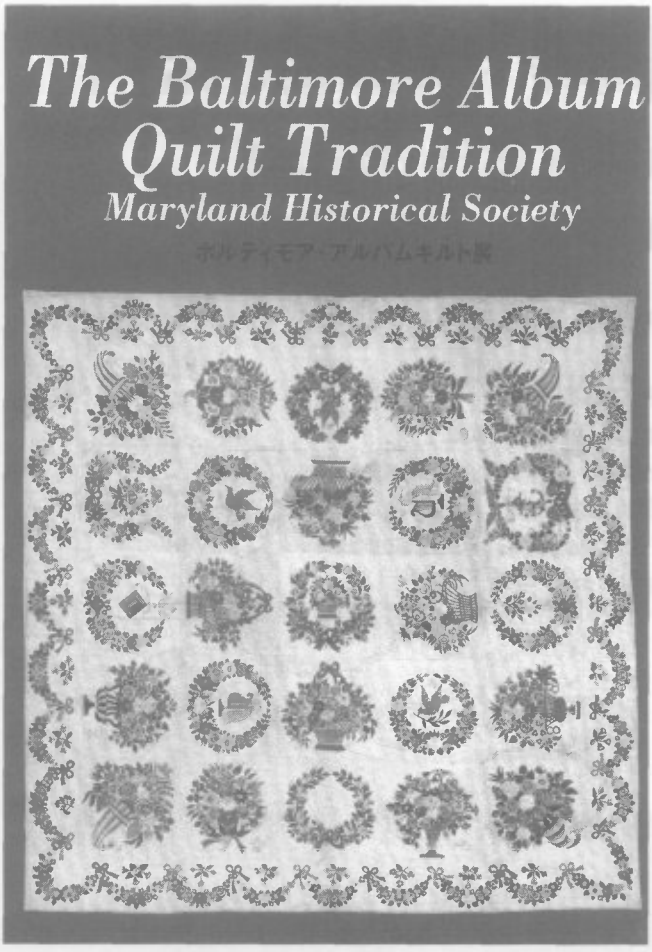

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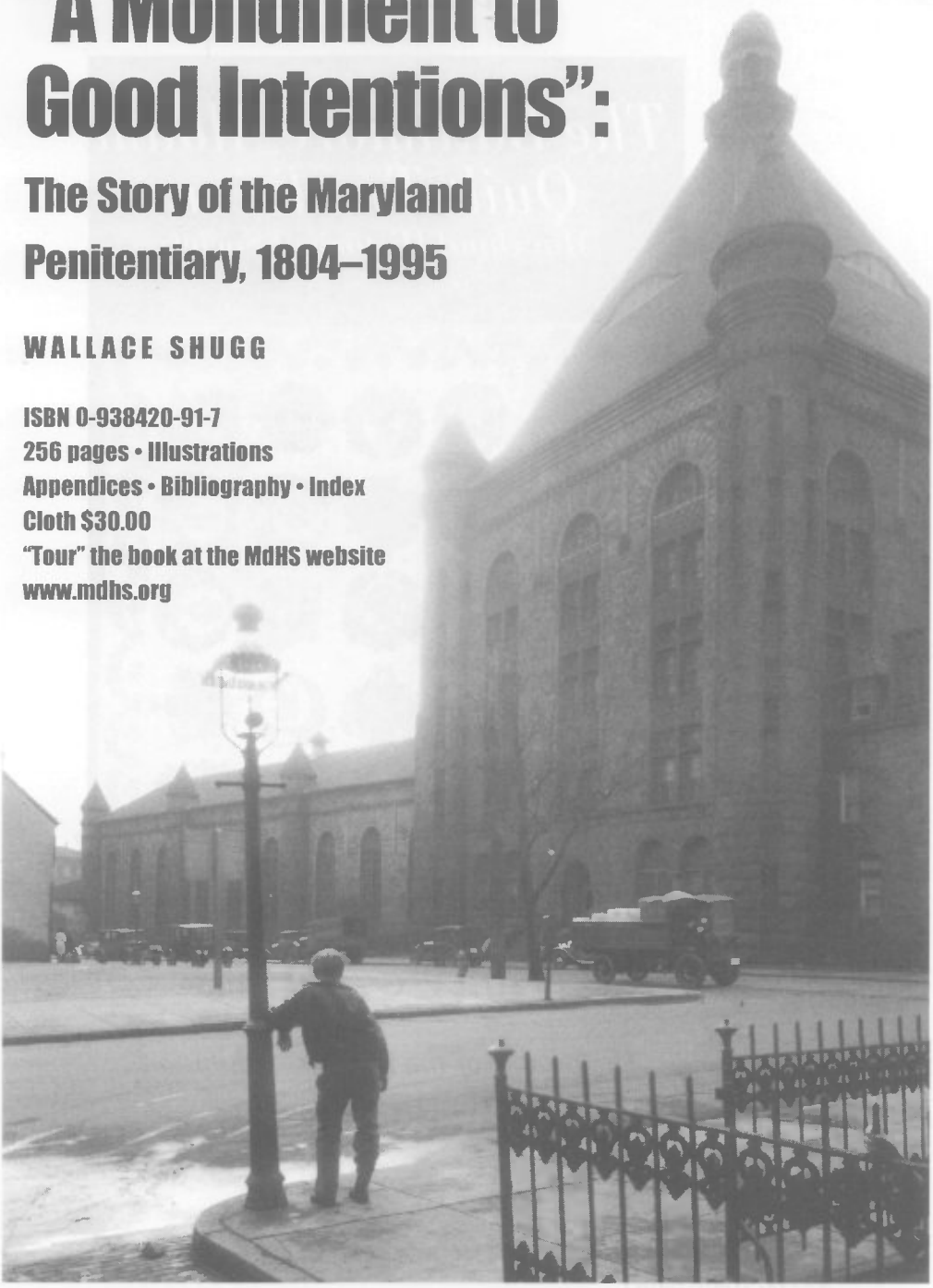

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